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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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THE ISSUES OF INJUSTICE.

A DISCOURSE

BY REV. JOHN T. SARGENT.

"Woe unto them that join house to house; that lay field to field, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth."—ISAIAH v. 8.

SOME years ago, in the city of Rome, in the centre of its world-renowned amphitheatre, the "Coliseum," I stood, of a moonlight evening, musing o'er the tyrannies of the past. The old gray walls curved around me in the solemn silvery light as I leaned thoughtfully against the central cross of that pro-slavery, blood-stained arena. The hard, moss-grown seats, that once held their 90,000 or 100,000 blood-thirsty spectators, rose one above another, while ever and anon the owls and the bats flitted in and out athwart the moonbeams that gleamed through those awful arches. And was it here, thought I, that Christian men, because of their Christianity, were forced to do battle in gladiatorial combat unto death, and with wild beasts and ferocious brutes, for the amusement of their fellows? Was it here, beneath the fangs of lions and tigers, and the still more brutal oppression of a tyrannical human prejudice, they gave up their struggling lives and liberties? Was this the soil on which their precious blood was spilt, and beneath these benignant blue skies of pleasant Italy? Was it here where are now only ruins, that the slaveholding aristocracy of imperial Rome gathered so often, gloating over the agonies and death-struggles of their victimized brethren? And where, oh, where are they now, the oppressor and the oppressed of those days—the tyrants and their victims, the masters and the slaves? Those tyrants? They have gone to their wretchedness of retribution, and to the woes which await all wrong-doers and despots in the overthrow of their power and the execration of all after time! Their victims? They pass onward, even now, every day, in spiritual circles, as on wings of light, to the fulness of their righteous compensation, in all the successes and thrift of benevolent and liberal enterprise which the day is called to witness; in the slow but sure triumph of lofty principles and free institutions; in the transmigration of their souls through the spirits and persons of those good and great reformers of our native land, the men and women (God bless them!) who have spoken their word and lifted their prayers—albeit through obloquy—and given their lives to the great interests of human liberty and human rights, the claims of justice, and the laws of God! They are not *dead*—those mangled unfortunates and fettered slaves of the old Coliseum. Oh, no! no! Let me rather say they have lived ever since, translated and impersonate in the "noble army" of disinterested "martyrs"—summoned up in the trumpet-blasts of the times' necessity, they have passed onward to their coronation in the glorious procession of all the struggling battalions for moral reform, re-embodied, reinforced in the energies and persistent purpose of all the lovers of liberty at the present day.

So mused I, then and there, in that mouldering amphitheatre of ancient Rome. I thought, too, of my native land—not then immersed, as it has since been, in the Red Sea and dread carnage of a rebellious civil war (for it was more than a decade of years ago); but still, as I thought, preparing the way for it by all her wickedness of pro-slavery concessions and her notorious deeds of oppression towards the poor African race. I thought of what might be to her, as to imperial Rome, if she persisted in these wrongs; and how, like that desolate Coliseum, might yet be her proud cities of Charleston, Augusta, Richmond, and Savannah, if she continued by these aggressions upon human rights so to defy the judgments of high Heaven. The sad echo of her Southern abuses and griefs, the moan of her suffering slaves, the wail of her oppressed ones, seemed to come o'er the waters to my listening sympathies there in far-off Italy—the premonition, as it were, of her fate in the future, the awful herald of her battle-doom; and I said to myself (yes, and I said audibly to my companions there), "How like to the destiny and fate of these older republics will ours be if it go onward and downward in a career of injustice and usurpation, still denying that precious boon of liberty to the poor millions who are crying out for it, still rivetting the closer the manacles she ought to unclasp." Surely, thought I, there must come, sooner or later, to such a perversity as this, and to such a corrupt people, thunder and lightning and a shrieking spasm of retributive forces, "Greek-fire" and "hell-fire," and all the damnation of some civil outbreaks. Storms of judgment, so surely as God is just, must come down upon their cities, else why on the comparatively innocent "Sodom and Gomorrah?" The avenging angel will waste their territories and sweep away the baseness of their tyrannous hope, as with a flaming sword, else why over Babylon? And, in that fire of desolation, the shackles of the long-suffering slave shall melt and shiver and crisp, as with fervent heat, passing away among the things that were. And look now! Lo! Behold! What was then but a brooding presentiment in my dreamy thought is now an *Apocalypse!* What were then but passing ghosts of a premonition—uncertain, shapeless, the shadowy phantoms only of probability—are now incarnate realities, hideous, palpable, aghast with all the terrors they have themselves outwrought, dripping with the blood of our children, armed, wrestling, gasping facts! See how these goblins and spectres, all out of breath, are going by us with every passing day and every hour's revelation! See what a list of woes the Southern desperadoes and usurpers have already harvested and conjured up out of their hideous rebellion—in the virtual loss of their territorial possessions and *prestige*, the impoverishment of all their resources, a starving and distracted population, their cities disconsolate and forsaken, their old slaves released from their grip and greed, emancipated, disenthralled, transfigured into other forms, an armed, manly, victorious host, still hopeful of further privileges, a very spectral Nemesis to their old masters—the officials of their confederacy outlawed, imprisoned, humiliated, and dispossessed of power; their seaports, as it were, blockaded; defeat and mortification pressing in upon them closer and closer at all points; unrecognized as a people by any foreign power; the overhanging, darkening consciousness of a selfish, base, despotic purpose in their hearts; and the crowning, resistless judgments of the Almighty on their matchless iniquity. It must have been with a foresight of some such terrible consequences and retributive issues that old John Brown, the martyr and forerunning herald of these times, said, before his death: "Yes, I may fall. I may, indeed, expiate my rashness on the gibbet; but I open a terrible vial!" He did, indeed, open a terrible vial. The very gallows whereon he was executed has been waiting ever since for those who erected it, and the rope which strangled him so unjustly is somehow getting tangled about the feet and necks of the leading Southern conspirators. Yea, the very men, even here at the North, who thought Brown an insane insurrectionist, were soon afterwards, in the same cause, armed, equipped and belligerent, doing the very same thing for which he was condemned by them, storming against the Southern interest, putting down slavery. Only think, now, of this marvellous change in public sentiment—how he who was hung as a culprit has now an imperishable monument in every grateful and patriotic heart, his name a triumphant praise and benediction on every tongue, and his apotheosis sounded and sung not only by beggar-boys and emancipated slaves, but by cathedral choirs, who ack knowledge in their hymns that though

"John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
Yet his soul is marching on."

Thus are we called to realize, every day, how, in God's mysterious judgments, it happens to our national as well as individual experience, that prosperity and appreciation is sooner or later the meed of integrity and constancy in well-doing; while, on the other hand, the propensity of injustice is always suicidal. Its purposes and proclivities have an inevitable self-fatality attached to them, and, according to the head-strong persistency in the wrong is the sure consequence of its final overthrow. There is nothing so momentous and certain as the divine retributions. An obstinate, selfish, and oppressive wrong, like a Chinese fire-cracker, bears within itself, and running clear and straight through its own bowels, the sure curse of its own immediate rupture and explosion whenever the excitement of a provocation comes to it; and, if it be not otherwise cut down by the sword or the battle-axe of an opposing public sentiment, will, sooner or later, die of its own intrinsic corruption, or sting itself to death in the midst of its last consummate agonies, like the fire-girt scorpion, plunging its own terrible weapon into its own crazy head. In the merciful and righteous judgments of God, it is so ordered that a deliberate and long-continued evil shall be crushed, either by the force of that righteous resistance it awakens or the toppling over of its own accumulated monstrosities. And, as in the individual, a long, sly, secretly-compacted scheme of fraud, forgery and deceit (though seeming for a time to have the crown of success), is sure to have the issue, at last, of bankruptcy and dishonor; or, as individual meanness and dissipation of any sort has the sorry and certain fruit of degradation, disease and death, so for a nation no less the same sure destiny of its aggravated and long-continued tyranny is to topple down or be torn down as the grossness of the wrong becomes manifest and insufferable. The loftier the pillar of its pride, pomp or oppression, the more certain its downfall, as the people who feel its weight upon their weary shoulders begin, by their democratic instincts, to writhe, or uprise and sway to and fro for relief. Either by the struggling weight of the ambitious who are climbing and swarming around it to get to the top, or by the blows and battering-rams of reformers at the base, or by the constitutional weakness of the fabric itself, it will come to the ground when its evil courses are fully ripe. The children of a nursery can build their card-houses only up to a certain elevation, when a chance hit or a breath of wind sends them scattering over the floor. So the children of a larger growth, the demagogues and tyrants of the political household can play *their* cards only up to a certain point, when there comes in a Nemesis to the disturbance and spoiling of their game. How evident, for instance, the woe which has been working in the Southern States for half a century past in all the depreciation of every element that constitutes the real welfare and dignity of a State.

I was reading, but recently, an extract from one of our papers in which the writer contrasts the relative conditions of Maryland and Massachusetts and makes it out clearly enough that Maryland, with every possible advantage by nature, with a much more fertile soil than Massachusetts, with more than double the extent of arable land, and more than four thousand square miles in excess of that State as to territory, with inexhaustible resources of iron, coal, and other means of prosperity, has yet continued always behind Massachusetts in every sign of growth and thrift, whether in wealth, population, or general culture, and evidently for no other reason than the demoralizing influence of the slave system in time past. "Ariosto tells a pretty story of a fairy who, by some mysterious law of her nature, was condemned to appear at certain seasons in the form of a foul and poisonous snake. Those who injured her during the period of her disguise were forever excluded from participation in the blessings which she bestowed. But, to those who, in spite of her repulsive aspect, pitied and protected her, she afterwards revealed herself in the beautiful and celestial form which was natural to her, accompanied their steps, granted all their wishes, filled their homes with wealth, made them happy in love, and victorious in war. Such a spirit is LIBERTY. At times, in the execution of her mission, she appears to some, in the form of a hateful reptile. She seems to grovel and hiss and sting. But woe to those, who, in disgust or under the influence of their prejudice, shall venture to crush or oppose her. And happy they, who, having dared to receive her, in her degraded and frightful shape, shall, at length, be rewarded by her in the time of her beauty and her glory." In some such allegory we may find, I think, the partition and contrast of experience between the North and South; the gladness and joy of prosperity on the one hand; the grief and mortification of disappointment and failure and subjugation on the other, the consciousness of doing right, and the shame of doing wrong; the brightness of a lofty principle, and the darkness of a crafty policy; and all the difference of a conflict waged, on the one hand, by the "sword of the spirit," and, on the other, by the carnal weapons of the world's deceit. The final issue of such a conflict cannot be doubtful. "The mills of God's judgment grind slowly," it is said, but they grind surely.

"His ways seem dark, but, soon or late
They touch the shining hills of day!
The *evil* cannot brook delay!
The *good* can well afford to wait.
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime
We have the future grand and great,
The safe appeal of truth to time!"

Well! The friends of Freedom and Humanity have had to meet their foes, it is true, in all sorts of shapes, and in all sorts of ways. The minions of injustice have come creeping under the cover of dark plots, with vizors down, and with iron masks on. There has been, and is now every kind of subterranean and submarine counterplot to blow up the hopes and counsels of freedom in various quarters. Sapping, and mining, and tricks, and compromises to such an extent that any honest organization might well doubt whether it be either reputable or practicable to meet and overcome such complex and cunning conspiracies. But with a compact purpose, backed by a faith in God, and the commendation of the wide interests of humanity to that almighty arbiter, it can and will be done. All the more vigilant, valiant, and persistent must the true friend's of equal rights now be because the forms of antagonism they have to meet are so evasive, compact, and subtle, and because even some of the pretended friends of those interests are so compromising and timid in their policy. It is no child's play, surely, we are engaged in, this saving and reconstructing of a nation—"for we wrestle not against flesh and blood merely, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." At the outbreak of our late war with the South there opened for this nation a crisis from which it seemed as if nothing short of omnipotence could possibly save us. As Wellington anxiously said when the terrible battle of Waterloo hung trembling in the scales between himself and Napoleon,—"either night or the Prussians must come to our relief or we lose the day!" So with us, for a time, the alternative evidently was between the midnight of a slaveholding despotism, or the rescue from that by the more than Prussian force of Anti-Slavery principles; and so, the Prussians did come to our relief in the "Proclamation" of our lamented President Lincoln; in the final onset and charge of emancipation principles, and emancipation we must have still more complete and unequivocal, in the distinct announcement and concession to the poor, long-suffering freedmen of *all* their social, civil, and political rights, here, there, and everywhere throughout the land, without any further quibblings, hesitations, reservations, or delay. Some people talk (even Congressmen have talked) with a singular shortsightedness, about making fraternal concessions to the South in this crisis; not being too hard with them; allowing them to come back into the Union without very rigid conditions as to loyalty, suffrage, or the enfranchisement of the black man; giving them the right hand of our fellowship; saying no more of the past; "letting bygones *be* bygones;" letting the Southern States reorganize on their own terms, and so ensuring (as they say) an integral condition of the country once more with the assurance of Peace and Fraternity, Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable, from the Lakes to the Gulf! A beautiful vision to be sure! Liberty and Union, forsooth! Just look at it. What sort of Liberty should we have or expect, and what sort of Peace and Fraternity by going hastily or unconditionally into partnership with such a moral discordance as the South is just now? What sort of Union could it be? It could only be like the union of the two manacled brothers of whose singular sufferings we were once reading. They were convicts, it seems, chained together by some governmental edict in an Oriental castle from which they had escaped. As they wandered through the wilds, dragging their chain in this awful predicament of "*Liberty and Union, one and inseparable*," they encountered a hungry Lion, who devoured one of the brothers, leaving the other as he escaped, to drag about for weeks and months so much of the mangled remnants of his brother as he had wrenched out of the Lion's jaws! Is *that* the kind of "Liberty and Union" you want? One Siamese twin dragging about the other bleeding and putrid carcase? Verily, friends, it is time we were thoroughly divorced from all such complicity or connection with things corruptible. What but disappointment and misery and shame to ourselves, what but woe, *all* the woe threatened by the prophets of old can be the fruit of any longer paltering with unrighteousness? We have had dark days enough, and long enough from that source. God help us to see the rising of a better day. "There's a good time coming"—if we will but be true to ourselves and the laws of the living God. Yes—in those hopeful words that sound so like the drum beat of a "reveille"—

"There's a good time coming
Let us aid it all we can
Every woman, every man
The good time coming!
Smallest helps, if rightly given, make the impulse stronger,
'Twill be strong enough one day! Wait a little longer."

Well! Yes. The waiting patiently may be well enough, but to be up and doing, in such a crisis, by our loyal sympathies and diligent efforts is still better, for, according to another trumpet blast—

"There's a battle to be fought
In the clear and open plain
E'er their long debated right
Freedom's soldiers can obtain.
But the road is dark and cumbered where they go.
The feeble halt and doubt,
And the rash are put to rout;
There are pioneers of progress wanted now!
Then onward be the word!
For many a levelled mile,
Let the marching troops advance
Over mountain, through defile,
Marshal *all*, to the weakest and the last;
Till unwearied arms begin:
The battle they shall win,
And their struggle be a memory of the past."

And what, then, remains for us here, either in our individual or associate action? What but this: to inaugurate and compact thoroughly within ourselves first the completer triumph and dominion of truth, love, and justice; to make truth, love and justice supreme within us, inspiring all our undertakings, authorizing all our actions, giving spiritual form and comeliness to our lives. This is, in fact, the great central interest and motive that presses on us the elevation of humanity and the masses, by the elevation of each individual, whether black or white. "He that can be true to his best and secret nature," says another; "that can by faith and patience conquer the struggling world within is most likely to send forth a blessed power to vanquish the world without. Mysteries of influence fall from every earnest volition to return to us in gladness or in weeping after many days."

A BEAM TO BE PLUCKED FROM OUR OWN EYES.

From the N. Y. Independent.

Do you own a copy of the census? If not, gentle reader, have the kindness to borrow ours to-day. True, statistics are rather formidable reading in languid Spring weather. But do not be deterred from reading this article by any apprehension of dryness in our figures. We mean to be very interesting on a dull subject.

The census of 1860 gave us what we shall never get again—totals of population marked free and slave. Thank God, the slave population of the United States is blotted out forever! The Southern slaves are now not only freemen, but citizens and voters. Nevertheless, the Northern negroes still are kept in a secondary slavery—marked by the law with a stigma on account of their complexion—denied their political rights—excluded from the ballot-box. The Northern people, in their ancient and long-continued subserviency to slavery, framed constitutions which (with five exceptions in New England) were, and are, hostile to the negro's enfranchisement. These old constitutions must now give place to new.

We make this demand, first, because it is right, and next, because the chief argument against negro suffrage for the South is, that negro suffrage is denied in the North.

This reasoning carries great weight; but its weight is not against giving the negro his ballot in the South; it is simply against refusing the negro his ballot in the North.

In round numbers, the South has four million blacks, the North half a million.

Now, shall the North, by opposing the political rights of her meagre half a million, give a pretext to the South for opposing the political rights of her populous four millions?

Let us exhibit the exact proportion of whites and blacks in all the States except the unreconstructed ten and the New England five:

1860.	Whites.	Blacks.
Connecticut	451,504 or 43 to 1.	8,627,
New York	3,831,590 77 to 1.	49,005,
New Jersey	646,699 25 to 1.	25,318,
Ohio	2,302,808 63 to 1.	36,673,
Maryland	518,918 3 to 1.	171,131,
Delaware	90,589 4 to 1.	21,627,
Pennsylvania	2,849,150 50 to 1.	56,949,
Indiana	1,327,710 116 to 1.	11,428,
Illinois	1,704,290 225 to 1.	7,628,
Kentucky	919,484 4 to 1.	236,167,
Tennessee	826,722 115 to 1.	7,300,
Michigan	736,142 106 to 1.	6,799,
Minnesota	169,395 732 to 1.	259,
Wisconsin	778,693 445 to 1.	1,721,
Iowa	673,799 634 to 1.	1,062,
Kansas	106,390 152 to 1.	625,
Missouri	1,063,489 6 to 1.	118,503,
Oregon	52,160 47 to 1.	428,
Nebraska	28,696 349 to 1.	82,
Nevada	6,812 151 to 1.	45,
California	358,110 43 to 1.	4,086,

Now, we desire thoughtful men in the North to ponder this evidence of the almost incredible majority of whites over blacks in the loyal States; and, after scanning the table well, we desire them to ask themselves the question, If black men can now be allowed to vote in South Carolina and other Southern States, where they actually outnumber the whites—why, then, cannot black men be allowed to vote also in the Northern States, where they constitute only one-fiftieth part of the population? If it is right and safe to give the negro the franchise in South Carolina, is it anything but wrong and mean to deny him the same privilege in Connecticut?

The States that now need reconstruction are the Northern.

There are two methods of doing this needful work: one is, by asking each State, in turn, to amend its own Constitution; the other is, by amending the Federal Constitution itself, which thereby amends all the State Constitutions at once. We prefer the swifter process and safer result of changing by one beneficent touch the supreme law of the whole land to the alternative of making a beggar's pilgrimage from State to State asking for justice by piecemeal.

The Constitutional Amendment proposed by Congress, and already adopted by a large proportion of the States, is a half-way measure, inadequate to the situation, unjust to the negro, and unworthy of the Republic.

We respectfully move, in its stead, a new amendment, which, with even-handed justice, shall establish the negro's political rights throughout the North as well as throughout the South.

Fellow-countrymen, it ought to bring a blush to every white cheek in the loyal North, to reflect that the political equality of American citizens is likely to be sooner achieved in Mississippi than in Illinois—sooner on the plantation of Jefferson Davis than around the grave of Abraham Lincoln!

REBELLION GOING TO LAW.

From the American Baptist.

So far as the prospects of the Reconstruction bill are concerned, nothing could be more fortunate than the exhibition which the States of Georgia and Mississippi are now making of themselves. The man must be stupid indeed who does not see the necessity of military law for communities which propose, as their first exercise of power, the nullification of the acts of Congress, and the restraint of the President from carrying those acts into execution! Such folly, as well as treachery, it would never have been believed the South could have perpetrated, except for the actual spectacle we have before our eyes of this attempt to overturn, under the forms of law, a government which they failed to overturn by force.

The bill drawn up by Judge Sharkey and Robert J. Walker, in behalf of Mississippi, was a little more audacious than the indictment framed by Judge Black in behalf of Georgia. Even Mr. Johnson's Attorney-General, Mr. Stansberry, did not hesitate to pronounce it "scandalous," in the legal sense of the term. He pointed out, in his argument before the Supreme Court, the absurdities to which the granting of such an injunction would lead. The petition proposed, virtually, to take the direction of the Executive out of the control of Congress, and place it in the hands of the Supreme Court. But the President of the United States was not answerable to the Supreme Court for the exercise of his functions; there was one special court, and one alone, to which the President has been made constitutionally amenable, the upper branch of Congress. Mississippi asks that the Supreme Court shall direct the President's conscience, in the matter of carrying out his oath, a gross impertinence. Mr. Stansberry said that as the legal adviser of the President, he must counsel him to disregard utterly any attempt to make him a party to such a suit; and he protested against allowing "so scandalous a thing," a suit "not fit to be brought, and which no court in the United States could for a moment sustain," to be filed on the records of the court. He said that from the moment the Reconstruction bill passed over his veto, the President had but one duty to perform, and that was faithfully to carry out and execute its provisions.

The application of Georgia, drawn up by Jeremiah S. Black, and his fellow-lawyers Charles O'Connor, R. J. Brent, and Edgar J. Cowan, though advancing the same prepostercus claims to State sovereignty, is more skillfully framed than the Mississippi paper. The substance of it is, that the original colonies renounced their allegiance to England and became independent States; that they then formed a Federal government and adopted a Constitution; and that the "government instituted in pursuance thereof, has remained to this day." Georgia thus chooses to repudiate what she did six years ago, when she declared that the Union was dissolved. In one breath she maintains that it has always remained intact; in the next that it was broken up. The memorial goes on to state that in the year 1861 the State of Georgia and certain other States, for causes by them at that time deemed sufficient, proposed and essayed to withdraw from the Union formed by the Constitution aforementioned, and did, as far as was in their power, so withdraw; but the remaining States denied their right to withdrawal; and finally that the said States being compelled to forego their purpose, made a full submission to the Federal authorities, thus establishing the fact contended for by the victorious party, that there was not and could not be any dissolution or withdrawal of States from the Union, but all remained intact, with their powers, privileges and prerogatives as at first.

It is thus very convenient for Georgia to argue against herself, and show that when she rebelled she did nothing, but only "proposed" or "essayed" to do something; and the attempt being frustrated, everything is as if it had never been made. But this plea will hardly be admitted. It does not follow that because she failed to split off a portion of our national domain, it therefore remains in the same condition as before. It is not in the same condition for the very important reason, that its State government has been destroyed. How? By the act of its State authorities in abjuring the allegiance they had sworn to the United States. Their offices were held only by virtue of their allegiance, as the Constitution expressly declares; hence, when the allegiance was forfeited the offices became vacant; there was not, constitutionally, a single State officer left, and consequently no State government. It was no longer an organized, but a disorganized State—that is, a territory. If there is ever to be a State government in the future, it must be organized anew. The idea that because rebellion failed to accomplish its purpose, it therefore accomplished nothing, is a wild fallacy. It certainly did accomplish much. It was not secession; it was not independence; but it was the loss of organized government. The rebels accomplished a crime, and by their crime they lost their birthright. Whether they shall ever regain it, must be left to the wisdom and judgment of Congress to determine. Of one thing we are very sure, that the restoration of this birthright will not be hastened by bringing a suit in the Supreme Court, against "Edwin M. Stanton, Ulysses S. Grant and John Pope," or any other officers of the United States engaged in the legitimate discharge of their duties.

Having established, as they suppose, the point that the rebel States were never out of the Union, the lawyers for Georgia go on to rehearse the manner in which the rights of that State have been invaded by Congress in the late Reconstruction act, and bring their argument to a point by saying:

"And this complainant charges, and respectfully insists, that a State cannot be in the Union for certain purposes and out of it for other purposes. In the Union for taxation, and out of it regarding representation; in the Union so far as its actions may subserve the furtherance of particular views and interests, and out of it when, in the exercise of an independent judgment, its acts of State fail to promote such views or interests; and in the Union when it attempts to withdraw therefrom, and out of it when in good faith it relinquishes such attempt and proposes full compliance with the Federal Constitution and the laws enacted in pursuance thereof."

Now this is just the point on which every disloyal man in the republic makes his grand mistake. The rebel States are in the Union for certain purposes, and they are out of the Union for certain other purposes. They are in the Union so far as property, taxation, national dominion, and Federal authority are concerned; they are out of the Union so far as State governments, State rights, and State legislation are concerned. These are nullities, being swept away by the act of rebellion. Thus it is that a State can be in and out of the Union at the same time. It is in the Union just as any conquered territory is in the hands of the conqueror—not otherwise. We are glad to see that the most of the Southern Generals are acknowledging this, and boldly advising the politicians to accept in good faith the terms of reconstruction offered by the victor. But they are in a minority; their moderate views are scouted by the fire-eating demagogues and the ignorant whites who follow their lead. Hence the absolute necessity, if we would ever have a recuscitated government in the South, of building it on the basis of loyal suffrage without respect of color. In this lies the only hope of our country's salvation. How vital a point it is, we may judge from the earnestness with which Georgia deprecates giving power to the black man. The memorial says:

"And this complainant further shows that at, and long previously to, the passage of the said act of the XXXIXth Congress, there were, ever have been and still are, in the said State of Georgia, many thousands of black men of African descent, being inhabitants of the said State, above the age of twenty-one years, and in all respects qualified and competent, according to the terms of the said acts of Congress, to vote at any and every election assumed to be authorized or sanctioned by the said acts of Congress, or either of them, and that no one of such black men, nor any other black man ever heard of, was or now is authorized by the Constitution or laws of the said State of Georgia to vote at any election in the said State, or otherwise exercise or participate in any political power within said State, or under its Constitution or laws."

All very true. We do not propose to go to the rebel State of Georgia to get permission for the black man to vote. Congress gives him the right to do that. The "black man never heard of" who was or is authorized to vote in Georgia, will soon "be heard of." He will take his place side by side at the ballot-box with the proudest white aristocrat that treads the Georgian soil. Congress does not expect to galvanize the corpse of the old State into life, but it intends to form a new State. It has conquered and retains a large area of territory, and certainly it has a right to organize a government there. In calling the people to vote for this purpose, it knows no color. Loyalty is to be the only test. This is the grievance for which the old State of Georgia goes to law. She will not gain the case. Her day is past. Her citizens may as well make up their minds first as last to dismiss the old Georgia and make a new one.

THE SPIRIT WE HAVE TO COMBAT.

From the New Orleans Tribune.

IT is a great mistake to believe that those who kept us so long under the Black Code, and who never dreamed but oppression and hatred have suddenly become our "best friends." They can be but our enemies; and we must be prepared to recognize them, even in their sheep clothing.

No longer than a month has elapsed since the Legislature of Louisiana, the fair representative body of that ruling class who are seeking to-day to conciliate the black vote, passed a law for the establishment of public schools in the city of Baton Rouge. This law, which has received the sanction of Gov. Wells, and which, therefore, is in force to-day, provides for educating "white" children and keeping in ignorance colored ones.

It is too curious a piece of class legislation not to transfer it in full to our columns. It will be borne in mind that this law is of fresh enactment, and has not quite thirty days of existence. It reads as follows:

AN ACT RELATIVE TO FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE CITY OF BATON ROUGE.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly convened, That the Mayor and Board of Selectmen of the city of Baton Bouge are authorized to establish one or more public schools in each of the wards of the said city, for the gratuitous education of the white children residing therein, to enact ordinance for the organization, government and discipline of the same, and to levy taxes in addition to the other taxes levied by them, on the property, trades, professions, occupations and pursuits of the white population for their support, as may seem to them proper; provided that the tax so levied shall not exceed the eighth of one per cent. on the taxable property of said city, and the one-half of one per cent. on all licenses issued under the ordinances of said Mayor and Selectmen.

Section 2. Be it further enacted, etc., That all property within the corporate limits of the city of Baton Rouge shall be exempt from the payment of any other school tax than that herein authorized to be collected.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, etc., That the Mayor and Board of Selectmen of the city of Baton Rouge shall have power to appoint a Board of School Directors, whose duties and powers shall be defined by ordinances of the Mayor and Board of Selectmen of said city.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, etc., That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

(Signed) DUNCAN S. CAGE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
(Signed) ALBERT VOORHIS,
Lieut.-Gov. and President of the Senate.
Approved, February 28th, 1867.
(Signed) J. MADISON WELLS,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

A true copy:
J. H. HARDY, Secretary of State.

Now, we understand why the New Orleans *Times*, Gen. Beauregard, and the pro-rebel party generally are preparing the ground for the adoption of educational qualifications as an impartial limitation for the right of suffrage. They have provided schools for their children, and delivered up the colored children to ignorance. Then they call for impartial qualifications on education, knowing full well that they have organized "white schools," and no other. They do not blush to call "impartial" a qualification for which they are preparing and fitting, at public expense, the rising generation of their class, while they take care not to open a single school for the benefit of the black and colored children. They know that the blacks had no opportunity to receive education under the slavery *regime*, when it was an offence for a citizen to teach a slave to read or write. They feel, therefore, confident that very few freedmen will be qualified on the basis of education. And in order to extend ignorance and political unfitness to their children, they take good care, when organizing schools, to organize them for "white" children only.

These are our friends, who beg our votes to-day, if not directly for themselves, at least for their party. Let us remember what they did in the past, and what they were doing at the time the Military bill fell upon them as a thunderbolt. Let us be true to ourselves, and vote for true and sincere men, not for the oppressors and deceivers of our race.

THE PRESS.

WE quote at length the following political article from the New York *World* of the 19th inst., as showing the present drift of the Democratic politicians, North and South, with reference to the negro:

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE SOUTHERN NEGROES.

The negro mass meetings recently held in several Southern cities, present a novel feature in the political life of the country. The mere fact of activity, taken alone, proves nothing beyond the probability that the Southern negroes are likely to make a great turn-out at the polls. It foretokens that they will be eager to vote; but it gives no clew as to *how* they will vote. Nor do we imagine that, for the present, many of them will attach as much importance to the result of the election as to the fact of their participation. They scarcely look, as yet, beyond any other result than their political recognition. Each freedman feels like a young man just turned of twenty-one, who takes this year a livelier interest in the fact that he is a voter than he took last year in any public question, or than he will ever take hereafter in the success or defeat of any political party. The sentiment of self-importance, the recognition of his manhood, the badge of final separation from a condition of legal inferiority, the gloss of a new-found privilege, conspire to make the interest of the negroes in the elective franchise personal rather than political. What older voters regard merely as an instrument, the enfranchised negroes esteem as an end; and while this feeling lasts, no class of citizens will be inclined to make so much bustle in politics, or will so generally go to the polls. When the novelty has worn off, they will grow, like the great mass of other voters, comparatively indifferent and inert, and it will require the usual busy canvassing and electioneering by political leaders to call them out.

Such being the natural explanation of the present black effervescence, the mode of dealing with it should be adapted to its character. Being more a thing of sentiment than of opinion, it should be managed by sentimental rather than argumentative methods. So long as the predominant political feeling is self-important eagerness to enjoy a new privilege, similar to that of displaying a new coat, it will be idle to attempt to indoctrinate the negroes with any particular set of opinions. They have not yet advanced in politics to the thinking stage, and it is better to prepare and mellow the soil before sowing the seed. There is a time to plough as well as a time to plant, and the success of the crop depends very much on the Spring work being done in due order. Southern leaders must take care that they do not by-and-by find themselves scattering their seed over a sun-baked soil. While the predominant negro sentiment is merely personal, those arts of conciliation should be practiced by which the sense of privilege in the negro mind can be most fully gratified; just as if you have business to transact with a jovial good eater, you stand a better chance of bringing him to your views after an excellent dinner. It will more gratify the pride and self-importance of the negroes to receive a full recognition and welcome from the white citizens, than to vote in the mere assertion of a right. They are so delighted with the privilege, chiefly because it approximates them to the white race; and unless natural tendencies are thwarted, it would rather revolt than please them to vote altogether in one party, with the greater and more respectable body of the whites voting in another. Such a division would keep up the old idea of separation and inferiority, which their pride wishes to obliterate. Property, character, and social considerations will have their influence in every community, and recognition by those who possess these elements of respectability would gratify the negroes infinitely more, in their present state of feeling, than the accomplishment of any possible political object by an unadulterated black vote. If their heads were filled with political crotchets, or their hearts inflamed by party spirit, they might be difficult to manage. But, happily, this is not yet the case. They are, for the most part, under the influence of spontaneous personal sentiments; not pride of race, but desire of assimilation to those whom they have always been accustomed to regard as superiors. This natural wish (probably the strongest they have in politics) would not be accomplished by their voting together as a negro party; and it will betoken a great want of skill, foresight, and address on the part of the whites, if they do not cultivate the natural tendencies of the negro mind, and keep control of it.

There are many Southerners who have enlightened views of the situation, and are acting with great magnanimity and good sense. As a recent example, we may point to Herschel V. Johnson, who was the Democratic candidate for Vice-President on the Douglass ticket, in 1860. His recent speech to the negroes at a large mass meeting in Augusta, Georgia, was so cordial, considerate, manly, and rational, that it deserves to be made a model by other Christian gentlemen and statesmen in the South. Mr. Johnson proved to the freedmen, in a style of address well suited to their apprehension, that there is an identity of interest, as there ought to be of feeling, between them and the white people with whom they have always lived, who were their playfellows in childhood, and whose ancestors repose in the same common dust as theirs amid the sunny hills and pleasant valleys of the South. As they have been made voters by law, he advised them to make a good use of the privilege, and try to select faithful and capable men for public office.

The various gatherings to which we have alluded have taken place in the cities and populous towns. In those places where the freedmen are easily accessible, we suppose the Republicans will succeed, to quite an extent, in influencing the negro vote. But the great mass of the freedmen reside on the plantations, where they are little exposed to the Radical contagion, and can easily be moulded, by kind and skilful treatment, into pretty close conformity to the prevailing white sentiment. They will feel more honored, as a general thing, in being courted by neighbors to whom they look up, and whose good opinion they value, than by itinerant strangers who would band them together into an inferior caste—a caste of voters, indeed, but voting, as servants eat, at a separate table and different political food. The negroes will at first vote less for what their votes will accomplish than for the mere honer of voting, and while this motive is uppermost, the nearer they can get to the exact position of their late masters, the more they will feel elevated by the privilege. No state of feeling could be more favorable for starting them in the right direction.

The following, from the New York *Times* of the 19th inst., outlines the present policy of the "Conservatives" to organize and get political control of the country:

CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATION IN THE SOUTH.

The views we have expressed in regard to the future of parties at the South, and the probable formation of an organization independent of existing parties, and embracing offshoots from all, receive timely confirmation in the following remarks of the *Times* of New Orleans:

"We fervently hope that in the various movements for the organization of a Conservative anti-radical party in this State, care will be taken to exclude extremists and politicians who have figured conspicuously in the past and recent contests, and to *unite and combine all good and honest citizens in one powerful organization, regardless of old party ground of division.* The great mass of the Union party proper desire to join in this combination, and all of the recent Confederate or Secession party are bound to the same organization. Neither must repel or discourage the other by any attempt to revive old issues and distinctions. There must be a full and frank oblivion of old disputes and controversies. The votes and efforts of all are needed, and are due to the cause. But those who are put forward prominently, to lead and direct such organization, whose names are published as officers and committeemen, should as far as possible be chosen indiscriminately from all the various parties, Union, Secession, Conservative or Radical, who are willing to work for the common object of all, to wit: the rescue of our State and City from political harpies who have descended upon us to plunder our substance and conspire against our freedom and rights. Above all, *those who compose the majority of this great conservative party should be careful not to give prominent positions in this contest to those who have heretofore been conspicuous in their opposition to the Union cause.* Let the champions of that cause take the front rank in a contest against their bitter enemies, and the enemies of the peace, order and welfare of the country! Let their lead and direction be followed and supported by all others of all the various parties who, however divided on other subjects and occasions, are at least united in the common desire and effort to save our State and country."

As we understand the movement proposed, it is not intended to be partisan in any sense, or to compete with the advocates of another policy on mere party grounds. The private letter we published the other day from Galveston correctly indicated, we think, both what is probable and what is prudent. In their present position, the Southern people cannot benefit themselves, while they might complicate their embarrassments, by entering upon the old style of party warfare. For all immediate political purposes they are powerless, and they are most likely to promote their material interests, and hasten the restoration of national harmony, by limiting their efforts to a full and faithful compliance with the letter and spirit of the law. More than this could not be expected at their hands; and beyond this, we presume, the words of our New Orleans namesake are not designed to apply. They indicate simply an alliance for the purpose of giving effect to the law in a manner most conducive to the future welfare and happiness of the Southern people.

It is eminenently proper that rational, moderate men, whatever their past party affiliations, should combine to prevent the success of the demagogues and firebrands who would alienate class from class, and under the pretence of extreme loyalty, would lay the foundations of future trouble. What men have been is of infinitely less moment than what they are. That point which concerns the country relates to the present purposes of the people of the South. To heap upon the masses disabilities because of the rebellion, were to render certain future discontent and difficulty. To make sure that they are for the Union *now*—

sential thing. And this is precisely what the proposed organization in Louisiana will accomplish. If carried out in the spirit of the article we have cited, it will insure the development of a healthy, loyal sentiment, will frustrate the plans of partisan incendiaries, and will inspire confidence in the mind of the North.

What is talked of in Louisiana will, we trust, be acted upon in other States. In every one of them, and especially in Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia, influences are at work which prove the existence of an element that is constantly acquiring compactness and strength. It is impossible to note the accessions daily made to the friends of the law, as opposed to the malcontents who centre their expectations in the Supreme Court, without feeling that the better portion of the South is on the side of those who counsel immediate and friendly action. Among these may be found persons who are best qualified to extend the movement for the common benefit of the South. From party combinations they would naturally stand aloof. That which needs their help is a movement superior to parties. It is a movement toward local union as well as the return of reconstructed States to the Union; and its progress will be watched anxiously yet hopefully.

UNIFORM SUFFRAGE.

The Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, it is well known, advocates a uniform rule of suffrage for all the States of the Union, to be established by the authority of Congress, without any additional Amendment of the Constitution. In a private note upon this subject he says: "The power to regulate the suffrage as to members of Congress which involves voters for the most numerous branch of the State Legislature, is in Congress. The framers of the Constitution put it there after full deliberation, and the people accepted the Constitution knowing that it vested that power in Congress. Its exercise will solve many of the difficulties that beset our path." We observe that his views have awakened a lively interest among the people especially of the Border States. The Washington correspondent of the Wilmington (Delaware) *Commercial* says:

"The question which seems likely to come up for consideration by Congress and the people at an early day is the condition of the Border States. The Union citizens of Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky bitterly bewail their fate, trampled under the heels of the rampant and successful disloyal element, and in the words of a recent Maryland letter, urge that it would have been better to die with the rebellion and have come up in the resurrection of reconstruction. They ask, most reasonably, why, if colored suffrage is just and a wise policy at the South, it should not be applied as well to the Border States. To give the ballot to their colored citizens by national action is the means proposed for adoption, and this can be readily done it is believed by the best constitutional lawyers in Congress. The clause existing in the Constitution from its origin that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government is broad enough to sustain a magnificent structure of equal rights, and liberal and statesmanlike lawmakers are about to breathe the breath of life into its hitherto slumbering form. How it shall be applied, what shall be the practical means adopted to make it reach the fundamental law of the States, is not yet concluded, but that the general result will be accomplished you need have no doubt. *The colored citizens of Delaware will vote at your State election in* 1868. Upon this I stake my reputation as a prophet.

"To show how time has developed changes in public sentiment I may mention the speech made by Hon. William D. Kelley, in the House, about a year ago, wherein he urged the power of Congress to regulate in the States the qualifications of 'electors of the most numerous branch of the Legislature.' This speech, fortified as all the Judge's elaborate efforts are, with ample authorities and indisputable facts, proved conclusively that Madison and the other framers of the Constitution fully intended to include such power in our fundamental law. At the time of its delivery, however, the doctrine advanced in the speech seemed to be far from popular, and in deference to the opinions of others, the Judge laid aside the copies he had printed and kept them, until now he finds that popular sentiment, advanced to this point, calls for copies from all quarters of the country. He authorizes your correspondent to place on record his prediction that one of the early acts of Congress, next December, will be a law fixing the qualifications of voters for the most numerous branch of the Legislature in the various States."

We make the following extract from a speech delivered by Judge Kelley in the House of Representatives:

"We have been in a murky political atmosphere for thirty or forty years, and our views of historical matters have been bedimmed. I turn to James Madison to vindicate the sagacity of the founders of our goverment. Those founders built not for a generation but for all time. They were skilful architects, and understood the laws and principles of the business they undertook. They built by square and compass and rule, and omitted neither cornerstone nor key-stone from any arch in the temple they constructed to be the abode of freedom in all time. They made it the duty of the United States government to *guarantee to each State a republican form of government*, and having done that they did not fail to provide the means by which the government on which they had laid that duty should be able to perform it. And they gave Congress the amplest power to execute that section, when, in section four, article one, they provided that—

"'The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; *but the Congress may, at any time by law, make or alter such regulations*, except as to the places of choosing Senators.'

"Now, sir, what did they mean by that provision? Let James Madison, Patrick Henry—the eloquent champion of State rights—Nicholas, Clay, Wyeth, Tyler; let Monroe, who interrogated Madison on the point in question, Alexander White, George Mason, Gov. Randolph, Corbin, and Grayson, all answer. Sir, could the shades of the great departed respond, they would all reply: 'You have expressed its purpose as announced to us by James Madison, and we assented to it as an essential power.' They all participated in the debates of the day, to which I now refer. I read from Elliot's Debates in the Convention of Virginia upon adopting the Constitution, on Friday, June 13, 1788. The fourth and fifth sections of the Constitution being under consideration.

"'Mr. Monroe wished that the honorable gentleman who had been to the Federal Convention would give information respecting the clause concerning elections. He wished to know why Congress had an ultimate control over the time, place, and manner of elections of Representatives, and the time and manner of that of Senators; and also why there was an exception as to the place of electing Senators.'

"Mr. Madison, the father of the Constitution, the correspondent and friend of Washington—the colaborer of Washington from the hour they became members elect of the Convention to the close of the adoption of its work by the people—answered this searching question; and the great statesmen, whose names I have mentioned, sat around and were satisfied with the answer. No member of the Convention took exception to it. Mr. Madison said:

"'Mr. Chairman, the reason of the exception was, that if Congress should fix the place of choosing the Senators, it might compel the State Legislature to elect them in a different place from that of their usual sessions, which would produce some inconvenience, and was not necessary for the object of regulating the elections. But it was necessary to give the General government a control over the time and manner of choosing the Senators to prevent its own dissolution.'

"Mark the reason:

"With respect to the other point, it was thought that the regulation of the time, place, and manner of electing Representatives should be uniform throughout the continent. Some States might regulate the elections on the principles of equality, and others might regulate them otherwise. This diversity would be obviously unjust. Elections are regulated now unequally in some States—particularly South Carolina, with respect to Charleston, which has a representation of thirty members. *Should the people of any State, by any means, be deprived of the right of suffrage, it was judged proper that it should be remedied by the General government.* It was found impossible to fix the time, place, and manner of the election of Representatives in the Constitution. It was found necessary to leave the regulation of this, *in the first place*, to the State governments, as being best acquainted with the situation of the people, *subject to the control of the General government*, in order to enable it to produce uniformity and prevent its own dissolution. And considering the State government and General government as distinct bodies, acting in different and independent capacities for the people, it was thought the particular regulations should be submitted to the former and the general regulations to the latter. *Were they exclusively under the control of the State government, the General government might easily be dissolved.* But if they be regulated properly by the State Legislature, *the congressional control will probably never be exercised.* The power appears to me satisfactory, and as unlikely to be abused as any part of the Constitution."

"With one of the great men whom I have named, and who participated in that day's debate, dissented from that doctrine? What other member of that Convention of great Virginians questioned it? Not one; and Mr. Monroe followed by asking an explanation of the clause which prohibits either House, during the session of Congress, from adjourning for more than three days without the consent of the other. It was the undoubted opinion of the State of Virginia that the question, which our President assumes to be one beyond a doubt was settled by the express language of the Constitution right the other way. Had Washington dissented from this view he would not have failed to have dissent known. He doubtless concurred in this opinion of his distinguished and confidential colaborer."

For ourselves, while we do not doubt the inherent power of Congress, under the Constitution, properly interpreted, to regulate suffrage in the manner proposed by Judge Kelley, we want that assurance should be made "doubly sure," and we therefore prefer an additional amendment which shall be explicit as to color, and elimmate the superfluous and obnoxious word "male" which the last amendment proposes to fasten upon the Constitution.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1867.

LETTERS FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Alton, Sunday, April 14, 1867.

Dear Standard: I lectured here last night, and to-day have been visiting the places made historical and sacred by the labors and martyrdom of Lovejoy. Hitherto the name of this city brought always but one idea to my mind, and I never heard it or saw it printed without an involuntary shudder. A cordial welcome here, and by men who have done good service in this valley of the Mississippi, where the battle was for a time so hot, has broken that spell, and I trust hereafter to think of it as the home of brave and true men.

The plain, stone store, from which his first press was flung into a creek (now covered by a business street under which it runs), still stands. Its walls—brown and dingy with what in this young country is age—are to me the most interesting relic in the place. Here a brave man and the Slave Power began their death-grapple. How proudly the seeming conquerors left those walls that night! How little aware that the seemingly humbled roof covered a courage and patience that "slowly would outweigh their solid globe." The building where he was shot has been taken down and large stores built there; but the same long, gray, stone-wall stands on one side, and the same river runs on the other—the last objects on which his eyes rested; these mute, unchanging witnesses saw the first blood shed in defence of the right to discuss American slavery. That death stunned a drunken people into sobriety. Slowly at first, but afterwards with what marvellous promptness, the people rallied to the struggle; determined that if there was anything in the land which would not bear free speech, it was not free speech they would surrender.

Lovejoy lies buried now in the city cemetery, on a beautiful knoll. Near by rolls the great river. His resting-place is marked by an oblong stone, perhaps thirty inches by twenty, and rising a foot above the ground; on this rests a marble scroll bearing the inscription:

Hic
Jacet
Lovejoy.
Jam parce sepulto.

[*Here lies Lovejoy, spare him, now, in his grave.*]

A more marked testimonial would not, probably, have been safe from insult and disfigurement, previous to 1864. He fought his fight so far in the van, so much in the hottest of the battle, that not till after nigh thirty years and the final victory could even his dust be sure of quiet. Myrtles and some flowers grow over his resting-place, fresh and green, this beautiful Spring day. Other graves are guarded by tasteful and costly architecture; but this one lies close to the path, unfenced, fitly holding up its record and appeal to the eye of every passer. Soon the gratitude and penitence of his friends and neighbors will build, not for him a monument, but a testimony on their part that he died not in vain. It should be placed nearer the river, on the bluff that looks down directly on the Mississippi; so that every boat passing up and down shall be able to show the million of busy and prosperous men the name of him who consecrated this grand valley to liberty. Grandly the valley spreads north, south and west, miles and miles away, holding great States bound together by the golden ribbon of the Mississippi; a valley made historical by many a hard-fought fight. But it will soon know that it holds no prouder spot than that which saw the first defeat—like Bunker Hill and Bull Run—better and more fruitful than a hundred victories in this war for free speech and justice.

I can never forget the quick, sharp agony of that hour which brought us news of Lovejoy's death. We had not then fully learned the blood-thirstiness of the Slave Power. When John Brown confronted it at Harper's Ferry, we knew and had long known the terrible risk any man ran who defied that fiend. But twenty years before, Garrison had just waked us up to its horrors, and we saw it but blindly. The gun fired at Lovejoy was like that of Sumter—it scattered a world of dreams. Looking back, how wise as well as noble his course seems. Incredible almost that we should ever have been obliged to defend his "prudence." What world-wide benefactors these "imprudent" men are—the Lovejoys, the Browns, the Garrisons, the saints and the martyrs! How "prudently" most men creep into nameless graves; while now and then one or two forget themselves into immortality.

Wendell Phillips.

Fort Wayne, April 16, 1867.

Dear Standard: I have just learned our momentous loss—the death of Mr. Stearns. The progressive movement in the nation has lost one of its most devoted and most efficient friends. His devotion was wholly unlike that of most other men. They give a large share of time and wealth to the ideas they love; he *lived* for them, giving not only wealth and time, but *himself*—having no other profound interest in life than in furthering justice and ministering to popular improvement. When any public emergency called men together, demanding clear insight, good counsel, thorough devotion, ample resources, and the courage to face a frowning community, among the very first names on every lip was his, as a man sure to be counted on.

With marvellous ease, by a system peculiarly his own, and showing rare executive ability, he managed a large business so as to be always a man of leisure, and ever ready, at a moment's warning, to give days, weeks, months wholly to any good cause. Few imagined that the man who flung himself so exclusively for months into recruiting negroes for the army—taking up his residence at different and distant points—was, at the same moment, at the head of a very large and busy house. The high plane of his habitual life is evident from the seeming needlessness and even incongruity of mentioning, in his case—what, in others, we dwell fondly on—business integrity, a spotless private life, and high personal honor.

One of his most striking characteristics, and the source, I think, of much of his strength—was his unfailing hope. We see men whom difficulties cannot daunt. This man was one whom nothing was ever dark enough even to discourage. He had studied all the great questions connected either with his own business or with public affairs, and wrote well and often on most of them. But his special *forte* was to concentrate on a given point the best ability of the land, seeking for it everywhere, and stopping at no cost or toil to secure it. Organizing the efforts of others was his peculiar gift and pleasure. Though journals sustained by his means and created by his forethought have done incalculable service to the national cause in its every phase, to him belongs, in an especial degree, the fame of the Massachusetts 54th and 55th regiments of colored troops; and in all the glory that clusters round Fort Wagner he has large share. It is not too much to say, that but for him the measure of arming negroes might have been delayed months—perhaps a year. His tireless zeal and unflagging energy, sustained by lavish use of money, forced the measure on a reluctant Cabinet. It is hardly possible to exaggerate his share in this movement.

Those who knew his elegant tastes, his delight in art, in music and in the graceful accomplishments of society, can better appreciate the sturdy and staunch integrity which put these so resolutely under his feet, merely plucking now and then a flower by the wayside as he strode manfully and resolutely forward in the hardest struggle with popular prejudice and opposition. It was under a roof which a superficial observer would have judged the abode only of refinement, taste and graceful enjoyment, that John Brown found his familiar and valued home, and its inmates were the first and most strenuous in holding up his hands. For how many years his biography would be almost a full history of the Kansas struggle.

But I need not add my feeble words to the emphatic and hearty and generous appreciation you will already have printed from many sources.

We have lost the wise counsellor, the generous patron, the brave comrade, the faithful friend—one whom long and successful service had made a power in the land, and who lived only to work for the highest good of his race. He has left us all the inspiration of his example—a life without haste, without rest, and full of hope.

Wendell Phillips.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On Tuesday, May 7th, and the day following, the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in this city. There will be a strong array of able and eloquent speakers, and the occasion promises to be one of marked interest. We trust that all who can do so will arrange to be present at the meeting, and that such as may be unable personally to attend will send, as invited by the call, their words of counsel, and their contributions to replenish the treasury of the Society.

No body of men and women have ever had greater cause for encouragement and congratulation than the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Actuated by the highest motive, employing the simplest weapons, faithful among the faithless, persevering in the face of all opposition, the triumphs and successes of the Abolitionists of this country are without a parallel in the history of human progress. Chattel slavery has been destroyed, a political Union which upheld it has been dissolved, never, in its old proportions, to be restored, and the initial step is being taken for the enfranchisement, upon equal terms with the whites, of the former bondmen. These results have been steadily and stoutly resisted by the managers and representatives of political parties, of spurious churches and lip-serving priests. But the righteousness of the cause and the faithful use of the spiritual weapons which it has employed, made, and will still make, Abolitionism a mighty and irresistible force in the nation.

The end is not yet. We are in a period of rapid transition, but the freedom and equality of our clients is not yet definitely established. Another turn of the wheel, the "sovereignty" of the rebellious districts again recognized in readmitted States, and and an additional constitutional guarantee becomes imperative, that the negro, who is to vote in the preliminary reconstruction, be not again disfranchised, and possibly, by defiant local legislation, reduced, in certain contingencies, to the level of chattel slavery. Indispensable also is such an additional amendment of the Federal Constitution for the speedy abolition of the unjust political proscription ou account of color which prevails in the Border, and a portion of the Northern, States. The nation owes the negro also educational advantages not yet supplied to him, and homesteads from the large landed estates upon which he was formerly driven to unrequited toil. This, in the name of justice, we demand for him, with that social recognition which is due to worth and culture.

The Massillon (Ohio) *Independent*, one of the best conducted and most radical of our Western exchanges, publishes the announcement of the Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and adds:

"This venerable Society has been holding its Annual Meeting, never failing, for one-third of a century, or while a whole generation of earth's one thousand millions have passed away. Sometimes it has been threatened and even mobbed, but a faithful few never flinched, never went backward, but boldly and steadily advanced in the cause of right; and they have lived to lead in the accomplishment of the great object for which they so long labored, the abolition of slavery. A full and complete history of the doings of this Society will be a rich treasure for our successors to scan, and study, and admire for its heroism, humanity, and perseverance. And the secret of its triumph is, the Society contended for an idea, and that idea is based on universal justice. And in addition to this great vantage ground, it has ever won and had the sympathies and co-operation of all the truly good and great of earth of all countries. It has lived to see the overthrow of one after another of corrupt parties, although these parties were led by the Websters, Calhouns, Clays, Bentons, and other intellectual giants of days that are not to return. The old Whig party died years ago, and during its life it opposed directly or indirectly the great aim of this Society—abolition. The old Democratic party which, in its own estimation, too often slew this stripling of liberty, has at last, like a boasting Goliah, been smitten square in the forehead by a pebble from the sling of truth, and now has become a putrid mass of rottenness, and a stench to all the civilized world. The coming meeting will be another milestone in the way marks of time, bounding onward to the great goal of human rights; and its effect will be to inspire, stir up and quicken the spirit of liberty, equality, fraternity which our forefathers evoked when they declared that all men are created equal. The mission of the Society is not yet fully accomplished, but in the consummation of days it will be, in the shape of universal enfranchisement and all rights to all. Till that accomplishment it will still live, and human opposition will be impotent to stay its progress."

The first Annual Meeting of the American Equal Rights Association will be held in this city, at the Church of the Puritans, on the 9th and 10th of May. This Association embodies the working forces of the former National Women's Rights organization, and seeks the enfranchisement of woman, as well as disfranchised colored men, upon terms of equality with white male citizens. Its representatives have contributed much valuable aid to the cause of universal suffrage, in this State and elsewhere, during the past year. The movement is broad and comprehensive. Its demands are just. The recognition of its claims in the Legislatures of Kansas and Wisconsin, by intelligent and highly respectable minorities in several other States, and upon the floor of the United States Senate, affords evidence of most encouraging progress in the public mind. Not less significant is the growth of the movement on the other side of the Atlantic. It has there, as here, enlisted the interest of many of the best and noblest men and women. The ideal of the true Republic will not have been realized until woman stands side by side with man, his recognized political equal in all the responsibilities and duties of the State. There will be in attendance at the approaching meeting some of the ablest and most eloquent advocates of the cause. We trust there will be a numerous attendance from all parts of the country.

The Indiana *True Republican*, published at Richmond, Ind., invites the attention of its readers to The Standard as follows:

The Anti-Slavery Standard, about closing its twenty-seventh volume, claims precedence. It is edited by Aaron M. Powell, and Wendell Phillips is special editorial contributor. The Standard still maintains its individuality—its old characteristic features, which have long made it a favorite with the philanthropic and thoughtful. Politically it is able and uncompromising. Its correspondence from Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, etc., constitute one of its most interesting features. The contributions of Phillips, of course, are one of its leading attractions. Last, but not least, its literary and general miscellany is of the choicest character. The Standard is published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, at No. 39 Nassau street, New York, at $3 a year per single copy, ten copies to one address $2.50 each, twenty do. $2 each. A $100 5-20 Government Bond, with six per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold, is offered as a premium to whoever will send the largest number of subscribers for 1867.

Since the demise of the *Liberator* The Standard is of even greater interest to old Anti-Slavery people and others than before, and is as much as ever deserving of their support.

We are happy to announce the safe return of Mr. Phillips from his extended lecturing tour at the West. He has delivered something over sixty lectures, uniformly to large and enthusiastic audiences, and accomplished without accident or serious detention nearly twelve thousand miles of travel. His most radical utterances were the most heartily welcomed by his numerous Western audiences.

He lectured, on Tuesday evening last, in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, under the auspices of the Fraternity Association. His audience was large, though not crowded; and the lecture, which was very earnest, eloquent and radical, was listened to with marked attention and greeted with hearty demonstrations of approval. We hope to present portions of it to our readers next week.

We make the following extract from a private letter received from Mr. Phillips:

"I met lately that veteran, Wm. T. Allan, of Geneseo, Ill., the strong and hearty coadjutor of Theodore D. Weld in the hard fight for free speech at Lane Seminary. Born in Alabama, and exiled from home and kindred by his principles, he has been a sturdy worker in every good cause, and especially, of late years, in that of temperance. And at Fort Wayne, Charles Atkinson, of Jonesboro, did me the honor to come—though in his seventy-second year—fifty miles on horseback, through Indiana mud, to talk over the cause and its old times. It was delightful to witness the enthusiasm with which he called up the old scenes and the old workers. Many of our earlier agents, who found such hearty welcome and shelter under his roof, will be glad to hear that he is still healthy and vigorous, rejoicing in our success, and no whit relaxing his vigilance."

We have received from England two valuable pamphlets, being Nos. V. and VI. of the "Jamaica Papers," published by the Jamaica Committee, of which Mr. J. S. Mill is the chairman. They relate to the workings of Martial Law in Jamaica under which Gov. Eyre put to death so many men and women, and set forth clearly the enormities practiced. These are the crimes which Sir Baldwin Leighton and his brother justices in Shropshire have lately decided not to be worthy of punishment or even trial.

The New York *World*, we are glad to notice, has become to such a degree sensitive to the altered tone of public opinion upon the subject of slavery and the political rights of the negro, that it is now disposed to cover up, as best it can, its past injustice and shame. This is, in itself, a good sign, and, in a certain sense, does the *World* credit. But we think it would do better and achieve greater success with the blacks, whom it is now endeavoring graciously and "philosophically" to conciliate, if it would frankly confess its past offences and not make the vain and fruitless attempt to deny and hide them.

The *Herald* says:

"Gen. Grant's prospects for the Presidency improve every day. Wendell Phillips may sneer and Horace Greeley may sneer, each in his own peculiar way; but the sneers of neither can reach to the high place that Gen. Grant holds in the thoughts of the American people. Gen Grant has made his own record in our national history, and intriguing, would-be party managers cannot efface it."

Straws indicate which way the wind blows.

The election for delegates to the State Constitutional Convention, held on the 23d inst., gave as an aggregate result a large Republican majority. Henry Ward Beecher was defeated in the Second Senatorial District.

Sojourner Truth writes us from Rochester, as follows:

"I have just heard an extract of a letter read from Gerrit Smith to Mr. Garrison, which makes all my nerves quiver. It terrifies me to think that he should long for a heart union with rebels, thieves, robbers, and murderers. He wants to be like Jesus; but I want to tell him, that he has no lot nor part with Him. Jesus would say: I was sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. I was hungry and ye fed me not. I was naked and ye clothed me not. Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity; I know ye not. He would say, come out from among them, and be ye separated, lest ye be partakers of their plagues. Couldn't he wait for them to repent? They ought to repent in sackcloth and ashes; but instead of that, they have been murdering, not only the colored people, but the whites too, ever since the war. Has he forgot Andersonville and Fort Pillow? And has he forgot the poor down-trodden slaves that they robbed and starved and butchered for centuries, and tried to take away all their senses and make brutes of them? I have been down there among them three years, and the scars of their cruelty made my heart bleed. I said, oh God! was there no mercy? Is there no justice? I had a grandson who was a prisoner in South Carolina, with some of Massachusetts' darling sons, who suffered untold misery—Captains and other officers the same. I am ashamed to put on paper the horrible things they were obliged to submit to, under these rebel fiends. Now, Gerrit Smith wants us to forgive them (before they repent), and pay them for doing it, and excuse them their taxes and so on. Let him first give them all he has—keep nothing back. Then I will believe that he means what he says. When I think of Mr. Smith, I feel as if I was on board the ship of State, and one of the best anchor-cables had broken; but hope that the water is so shallow, that it can be got up again. This may seem harsh and out of place for me; but I must say something—for I can't help it. If I had not appreciated him so highly, I would not have said anything.

Yours for the right and the truth,

Sojourner Truth.

THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Thirty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the city of New York, at Steinway Hall (Fourteenth st., a few doors east of Union Square, between Fourth Avenue and Irving Place) on Tuesday, May 7th, at 10½ o'clock a.m. A meeting for public addresses will be held on Tuesday evening. Business meetings will be held on Wednesday, the 8th, at Dodworth Hall, 806 Broadway, opposite Eleventh street.

The Executive Committee feel that, at no previous hour, has the necessity for consultation and action been more urgent than now. The fate of that race to whose deliverance we have pledged ourselves, hangs for many years to come, on the national action of this and the next year. The disposition of Congress—willing to act, but waiting an impulse from the people, the plot of the President and his fellow-rebels to save the Southern oligarchy from its fate; the haste of many men, the business men of the nation especially, to effect some settlement, no matter what, which will open the channels of trade again; the dangerous defects of the scheme for reconstruction proposed by Congress; the imminent peril that, State Rights once conceded, we may find ourselves again involved in an irrepressible conflict between the aristocracy of a "white man's government" and the divine law of equal rights; above all, the defenceless condition of the negro race throughout the South, the horrible barbarities practiced upon it, its blood crying to us from the ground of so many States—all these considerations urge the members and friends of the Society to renewed zeal and greater devotion. Fidelity now may save the nation from another war. Any slackening of effort now, any mistake in counsel, may oblige our children to fight this horrible battle over again. Fidelity now may show the world that these governing masses, taught by the war, are able to do what no nation has ever yet done, root out and utterly destroy, in one revolution, a great national evil. To relax now, to choose a wrong path, may give one-half the nation over to confusion and anarchy like that which has afflicted Mexico for half a century.

Let the members and friends of the Society gird their armor for a final struggle. Let all who can strengthen us with their presence and counsel, and let those unable to be present send us both their advice and such contributions as they can to aid in making the nation wise and keeping it vigilant in these hours.* The patriot graves, marching over which we have reached this vantage ground, and this helpless race still exposed to the storms of their old master's hate, both claim this fidelity of us. The great stride which the nation has made towards a right settlement within the last year, and the marvellous readiness of the masses for thorough measures, encourage us to perseverance. The day dawns. May we be worthy to rejoice in its noon.

Among those who will address the meetings will be Wendell Phillips, Col. T. W. Higginson, Rev. John T. Sargent, Mary Grew, William Wells Brown, Edward M. Davis, Rev. John W. Chadwick, and Aaron M. Powell. Anna E. Dickinson and Gen. Benjamin F. Butler are also expected.

Mr. Sigismond Lasar will preside at the Organ. Mr. Charles L. Gunn will lead the Singing.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, President.

Charles K. Whipple, Aaron M. Powell, } Secretaries.

* Correspondence and remittances should be addressed to WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston, Mass.; or to A. M. POWELL, Office of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, 39 Nassau Street, New York.

PERSONAL.

Gen. Hamilton has been nominated by Chief-Justice Chase for Register for the Second Congressional district of Louisiana.

Frederick Douglass received 44 votes for delegate to the Constitutional Convention in the Republican Convention of the 28th Senate district, Monroe County.

President Geffrard has been obliged to yield to the storm of revolution, throw up his office and with his family leave the island. They have gone to Jamaica in a French steamer. An attempt will be made to organize the government anew.

Senator Wilson has decided to make a full Southern tour. He has been invited to address the people of the South at numerous places, and intends, if possible, to speak at Richmond, Orange Court-House, Norfolk, Raleigh, Newbern, Wilmington, Charleston, Jackson and New Orleans, and somewhere in Georgia and Alabama.

During his recent visit to Ottowa, Illinois, Mr. Phillips was honored by a peculiar Democratic courtesy. On the evening of the lecture, Mr. Clancy, the Mayor of the town, sent the city Marshal with a note addressed to Mr. Phillips, requiring him to pay a license fee of $10 as required for shows exhibitions of sleight-of-hand, etc., and although informed that the lecturer's enterprise would be an educational one, the money was exacted and paid. The money was, however, refunded by some members of the City Council.

President Johnson has accepted an invitation from the citizens of Raleigh, N. C., to be present at that place about the middle of May, at the laying of a corner-stone of a monument in memory of the President's father, whose place of burial has only recently been discovered. He will be accompanied by Mr. Seward and one or two others of his Cabinet He will go via Richmond, and may extend his trip further South.

The Yates County (N.Y.) *Chronicle* says: "Anna E. Dickinson was greeted by a large and appreciative audience on Monday evening, who listened with rapt attention to her eloquent lecture. It was an appeal for justice to her own sex and we fancy they could scarcely desire a more effective pleader. Anna is a noble type of womanhood. She is doing a good work and doing it with her might."

A correspondent says: "Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, Del., has recovered from his long and dangerous illness. He has recovered his usual fresh looks; he has not lost any of his energy and devotion to freedom; he anxiously watches the current of events. It is pleasing to record that we are not yet to lose this time-honored friend. The fruits of his labors and of his compeers he is living to see gathered in the households of the uplifted from the dismal valleys of slave-holding barbarism."

The St. Louis *Democrat* gives a *verbatim* report of Mr. Phillips's recent lecture in that city. The *Democrat* says: "Wendell Phillips and his ideas of the political situation and its responsibilities received last night a hearty welcome from one of the largest audiences ever assembled in St. Louis. The lecture in full will be found on the fourth page of this paper, and will richly repay the perusal by all who had not the pleasure of hearing it. It is noteworthy that the speaker's most radical positions were the most approved, and his advocacy of impeachment in the event of President Johnson's failure to execute the reconstruction programme was loudest applauded." The St Louis *Daily Dispatch* says: "Wendell Phillips, the man who, as a private citizen, has exercised a greater influence upon the destinies of this country than any public man or men of his age, last night delivered a lecture before the Mercantile Library Association upon 'The Times,' full of Radicalism, glowing with fanaticism and brilliant in eloquent appeals to sectionalism artfully veiled beneath the cry of human progress. We have neither the time nor space to give any extended summary of his lecture, although the audience were moved by the bulk of their names on the surroundings, we are obliged to content ourselves with the following paragraphs, merely premising them with the remark, that the speaker's first object appeared to be the glorification of the lyceum, and his objective point, the overthrow of Gen. Grants popularity." The St. Louis *Republican* says: "Long before the hour announced for the lecture had arrived, the large hall of the Mercantile Library Association was filled to its utmost capacity by the *creme de la creme* of the wealth, beauty and fashion of our city. Hundreds applied at the doors of the hall for admission, only to be disappointed, standing room even being at a premium.

"At eight o'clock Mr. Bagley introduced the orator of the evening, Wendell Phillips, who proceeded to address an audience as distinguished as any ever assembled in this, or any other, city. In discussing 'The Times' Mr. Phillips glanced briefly at the past history of the country as developed by the late war, and in descanting upon the present he held that public opinion is the law of the land, and that the statute is nothing unless there stands behind it a consenting public opinion. He believed that the New York *Herald* and the New York *Tribune* were more really the government than 'that machine at Washington which, like the weather-cock, only shows public opinion, while those organs make it.'"

Count Bismarck lately made the following observations at the sitting of the German Parliament: "Universal suffrage is a legacy which has been transmitted to us by the national aspiration for German unity. The governments would prefer a different system, but they have not proposed any substitute. I know nothing more absurd or more pitiful than the Prussian law *which sanctions election by classes* and by indirect suffrage, caprice and harshness accompanying the tax-rated suffrage. It would not be prudent to combine the right to the suffrage with social or class distinctions. Indirect suffrage alters the expression of public opinion; direct and universal suffrage will introduce talent into Parliament." These observations were received with loud cheers.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I hope to be present at the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on Tuesday, the 7th of May. If not, I will send in money what it would cost me to be there. May I suggest, through The Standard, that our friends generally adopt the plan?

Yours very truly, E. M. D.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, D. C., April 23d, 1867.

The Senate having adjourned, the capital relapses into its normal condition—stupid dulness. Its ending was somewhat more gracious than its beginning, and continuance. The President had to surrender, through the opposition of some Senators, some of the more important bargains of which I have spoken. Probably the gossip hereabouts will for some time be confined to speculation and rumors about the President. We hear, among other things, that a Southern "circle swinging" expedition is planned, Mr. Johnson having accepted an invitation to North Carolina. He will be accompanied by Mr. Seward, and will, it is said, extend the journey to several important Southern cities. Let us hope so, for whenever Andrew begins to talk, the nation begins to be aroused to its danger. "Out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh."

The reconstruction campaign and its important results are now the principal objects of interest here. It is my fortune to read daily letters from all portions of the unrepresented States, and to meet persons who live, or have recently travelled, through them. The Congressional Republican Committee are doing thoroughly a good and useful work. Documents are being sent by the thousands throughout that region, and speakers are now being engaged. Their aim, at present, is to obtain the services of able and active colored men, speakers and organizers. In North Carolina, the Rev. Mr. Turner is already at work. In South Carolina, a very eloquent and influential colored man, Samuel Dickinson, has been employed. Maj. Martin R. Delaney has been also solicited to give his services. The Rev. Henry H. Garnett will canvass Virginia and probably other States. Engagements have been offered to John Mercer Langston, Esq., of Oberlin, and will be to Prof. W. Howard Day, of the *Zion's Standard*. I wish men as able as those gentlemen were able to settle in Mississippi, Florida, Southern Alabama, or elsewhere in the South where the colored citizens were the numerical majority, so that we might have a chance to see them under the roof of the Capitol as members of Congress—practically illustrating Democracy.

The wisdom of sending these gentlemen South is much more apparent than that which prompted or encouraged Senator Wilson's trip. With all due respect to the praise of the *Tribune* and the Massachusetts Senator's undoubted service to the cause of freedom, there are well grounded fears of his real usefulness. His good nature makes him too easily impressed, and the trading unionists, like Pierepont, Botts, Chandler and others of their stripe in Virginia, combining with the oily, smooth, old Southern politicians, can cajole him into softening his speech and apologizing for Republican action, quicker than they probably could any prominent member of that party. The Southern loyalists who were at Philadelphia have not forgotten his hedging against universal suffrage. Judge Kelley will leave in a day or two for the South. Probably he will be able to undo some of the mischief the Senators good nature and ambition (to be the nominee for Vice-President) combined may produce. Senators Nye and Pomeroy both propose to make some speeches in the South, and Gen. Butler it is also expected will do the same. A mass Convention is to be held at Macon, Ga., on the 1st of May, at which both Wilson and Kelley will be present.

There is an immense field for exertion opening. There is at the present time no danger of violence or disturbance,—certainly not along the principal lines of travel. The more radical and thorough the speaker, the better for the country. No one who watches the conduct of the newly-enfranchised citizens in their political gatherings will fail to realize that this is not merely swelling the aggregate by their numbers; it is the introduction of a new force in American politics. Nothing like their enthusiasm, earnestness, sincerity, the religious gravity with which their new duties will be discharged, has yet been felt in our political affairs, and it must have a wide influence.

The last delusion of the rebel South is to receive a severe awakening. There is no manner of doubt that the rebel politicians have actually deluded themselves into a belief that they can cajole the colored men into voting for them; more than that, the President and his advisers believe it also. There are even those who call themselves radical who are "tarred with the same stick." The whole thing grows out of a contempt for human nature when encased in a dark skin. The colored man of the South will do no such thing. If our speakers and workers will only aid them properly by aiding their leaders to organize, the danger of even losing a small per centage will have passed away. But the contempt for negro sagacity is so great that the belief in ability to control them is almost universal in the South. On the contrary, I am convinced that ultra radical ideas have, naturally and normally, their most favorable home in the heart of the newly enfranchised. The negro may be made a Conservative so-called, he may be induced to vote with and for his late master on State and local issues, when his people generally can freely obtain land and not before. The negroes of the South will vote with the Republican Radicals now, because that includes the men who advocate a Confiscation bill. The man who has worked all his life for another feels on being made free that he ought to have a home on the soil he has made valuable by his industry. Every one recently from the South describes the colored men talking out on this subject with a boldness which startles the large land owners. They have only succeeded by their attempts through black codes, vagrant laws, etc., during the past two years, in sweeping from the minds of the emancipated any lingering belief they might have entertained as to the generosity of these whilom masters.

Your readers have seen references to the Howard

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University, located in this District. I propose to allude to some of the late and previous efforts in behalf of establishing an educational institution of the highest character, for the benefit of colored persons, was first suggested by a fund which was placed at Gen. Howard's disposal by an act of Congress. It may be remembered that Gen. Butler, when enlisting colored soldiers, directed that one half of their bounty ($50) should be retained until the expiration of service. By this retention, there grew up an unclaimed fund of $60,000, belonging to soldiers who died without heirs. The Freedmen's Bureau was made the depository of this fund, Congress directing it be used for the general benefit of the Freedmen. The Commissioner was directed to appoint trustees, Senator Pomeroy and John R. Elisans, Esq., a merchant here, and Gen. Howard himself. Property has been purchased, formerly used as a German pleasure-garden. It includes buildings, a large hall, and a fine grove. A normal department will be opened on the first of May, (with pupils, colored graduates of the schools in this District. The principal object is to train teachers for the South. The American Missionary Board pay the Principal's (Mr. Williams) salary for one year. The University is, I understand, largely endowed from other sources. But the Trustees have another enterprise of importance on hand. It is nothing less than getting land in the District for the freedmen. They have already purchased one hundred acres of land, north of the South, and are now negotiating for 375 more south of the South. The cost of this land will average $100 per acre when upon it have been placed, as is intended, houses, the materials for which are to be had out of the barracks buildings, now under the Bureau's control. It is intended to divide the land into one acre lots, and sell each to a freedman, on three years' time, at cost, and a small interest. On each lot a cabin will be erected.

WATCHMAN.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1867.

THE closing lecture of the course instituted here by the association of colored people, was delivered by Theodore Tilton, on Monday evening last, in Concert Hall. His subject was, the "Corner-Stone of Reconstruction." A large audience was in attendance, and gave frequent expression to its enthusiasm and approbation in response to the stirring eloquence of the speaker. As is often noticeable in our lecture rooms—ever a gratifying fact—the most decided utterances of a radical character awakened the most energetic fervor. People are fast becoming imbued with the new-born sentiments of the time, and are growing more and more earnest in their desire for practical action consonant with their convictions. Progressive thought steadily gains ground.

Mr. Tilton was introduced to the audience by Robert Purvis, whose brief but forcible words elicited the warmest applause. In welcoming the gifted speaker and honored friend, he remarked that "he was no new man among us—not an Abolitionist coming out or made up from the necessities which the war has imposed—not one who needed to be convinced that human liberty and human rights did not depend upon the color of the skin or the texture of the hair—but a natural-born lover of truth and justice, of humanity and freedom. He has been, from youth to manhood, the earnest believer and faithful, able and eloquent advocate of that great republican law which declares equality of rights of the black man. And now, accepting, as our noble friend does, and as we all do, that the abolition of slavery in our country is a fact, that the accursed and bloody monster is dead, *dead*, DEAD, beyond the possibility of resurrection; yet our friend is fully alive to another important fact, which proves that the work of anti-slavery is unaccomplished, and that is, that the foul and fatal spirit of the demon exists still in the haughty and God-defying lines of caste, and in the bitter hate, contempt and scorn of the colored race. Hence our distinguished friend grapples with the vital issue of the hour, with all the intense earnestness of his earnest nature, and advocates that only form of political and republican freedom."

Mr. Tilton has spoken here before, and always acceptably, always with good effect. He never fails to please, and, which is of higher consequence, he never fails to exert a wholesome and beneficent influence. But I think he never hitherto did so well as on this occasion, and the free, hearty and uniform expression of opinion on the part of those who heard him is pleasing evidence of the favorable impression left upon their minds, as well as their approval of his noble sentiments. Such teaching as his, presented in such a way, equally attractive and forcible, is just what is needed all over Pennsylvania. Especially grateful do we feel towards every man coming among us out of whose mouth goes scorn and condemnation, stinging rebuke and sharp animadversion, because we suffer the word "white" to blacken our Constitution. We need to have every man in the Commonwealth filled with a thorough apprehension of the culpable nature of this fact, and convinced of the duty of laboring to purify the Constitution, and to make its text and its spirit consistent with true republican principles. With that word existing in it, its standard is low indeed. With State after State moving in respect to this matter, let us be saved the mortification and disgrace of having Pennsylvania behind all the others. Tardy though she may be, let her not be quite the slowest or quite the last. Has she ever been foremost in anything high and noble—ever first in any great and good movement?

Mr. Tilton fully and vigorously discussed the prominent questions involved in the present state of affairs, and was specially attentive to the case of Andrew Johnson. He could not let the word "impeachment" fall from his lips without creating a tumult of applause. O that the politicians understood as well as the people the importance and necessity of impeachment! How the mere mention thereof electrifies an audience like that of Mr. Tilton's. But, judging from the way men in high places stoop to the wretched business of bargaining in the shadow of the White House, as exposed in your last week's Washington letter, impeachment is not likely to become an established fact. How disgraceful, how shameful, is all that business. How it degrades our estimate of the character of some of these men, members of the Senate and of the House, engaged in such an unworthy and discreditable work! In vain Mr. Tilton will talk of impeachment while the members are susceptible to such influences as this bargaining business shadows forth. However they may feel or think, they cannot face the question with determined purpose and the essential intrepidity.

Mr. Tilton well and wisely presented the suffrage question, and he found ears willing to listen more patiently and approvingly, and more of them, too, than when he was here last. Nothing is more manifest than the fact of a ripening public opinion concerning this important subject. And lectures like that of Monday evening will tend to hasten the day when every black man in the realm shall possess the right to cast the freeman's ballot. The speaker's favorable allusion to suffrage for woman was received with encouraging demonstrations of approval. A little while longer and we trust the people of our land will consider this question with real earnestness, treating it wisely and justly as it deserves, and pressing it on towards the day of triumph.

Some time ago, a Total Abstinence Convention was held at the capital of this State, which was of a very important character; and to ratify the action thereof, a grand mass-meeting was held last week in our Academy of Music. It was a very remarkable affair. A dense concourse of people assembled on the occasion, including various temperance organizations. The greatest enthusiasm was apparent, and a deep interest in the great cause that brought the multitude together was manifest. Judge Allison, of this city, presided, and among the speakers was Senator Wilson. The meeting adopted the following resolution:

"That the citizens of Pfiladelphia, in mass-meeting assembled, do hereby heartily indorse and ratify the proceedings of the late State Temperance Convention held at Harrisburg, and will use their influence and utmost endeavors to carry out all the great measures adopted by that body to promote the cause of temperance in this city and State."

Having so resolved, may they so endeavor, and by the result prove the efficiency of the efforts. Who can estimate the moral worth that would be added to the community by the complete banishment of intoxicating drinks? Who can comprehend the detriment that the use thereof entails upon society, visible in a multitude of forms? Will the day ever dawn when the mighty evil of intemperance shall no longer exist among us?

Sincerely do we hope that great and permanent good will [illegible] the efforts of our citizens in behalf of temperance. Never was there greater need of persevering action concerning it than at this very hour. Let those engaged in this good work consider what a powerful force lies dormant in the fact that woman is forbid speaking through the ballot-box. Let them wisely determine to join in giving life to this latent power, and they will gain possession of a potent auxiliary. Without this co-operative aid, all their efforts will be feeble and inefficient. Viewing the matter in every light, it does seem as though the ballot in woman's hands is the unconscious and yet unbidden power that is to be wielded for the overthrow of that great evil, that gigantic enemy in our midst, whose victims are legion.

W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 23d, 1867.

IT seems but justice to the worthy people constituting the "Brown" family in Cincinnati, Ohio, that it should be clearly understood, notwithstanding the ominous significance of the name, that they are a "white" family, a family of white ideas and white companions, and that they do not associate with colored people. If a person's consideration and good standing in society really depend on a circumstance like this, it would be cruel to deny him the benefit of its full public recognition. But this seems really to be the predicament of the Browns (whose baptismal name we disremember) in the city above mentioned, by his own admission. At a recent meeting of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association there, on a motion being made to admit young men not in mercantile employments to the privileges of the Association—with the double purpose, as it afterwards appeared, of really extending those privileges, and of gathering more admission fees for the treasury—Mr. Brown promptly rose, and proposed to amend the motion by adding the words "any *white* young man." His wife and daughters, Mr. Brown said, were in the habit of visiting the Library, and "he was not educated up to that point that he was willing to see them meeting colored persons in the Library whom they were not in the habit of associating with elsewhere."

It appeared that Mr. Brown's scruple was not the vulgar Northern prejudice of objecting to the bodily presence of colored people, but the refined and delicate one of declining to meet them on a footing of equality. It was in evidence that the blacks were in frequent attendance at the Library to draw out books on order, and that the Browns had never objected to their presence in that capacity. Indeed one of the members thought this fact to have so intimate a bearing on the question that he pronounced Mr. Brown's scruple "bosh" on that ground alone. Several persons, however, supported the amendment, which gave rise to an extended debate. The weight of the meeting, nevertheless, proved to be on the other side, and Mr. Brown at last withdrew his amendment, as most of the speakers really seemed to think that the introduction of the word "white" into the Constitution, would be a disgrace to the Association.

Ten years ago, not only the Young Men's Literary Associations throughout the country, but the "Young Men's *Christian* Associations" (so called) would have taken, with almost entire unanimity, the ground which the non-"professing" young men of Cincinnati now repudiate as unworthy and disgraceful. We remember that when, ten or a dozen years ago, a General Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations was to be held at New Orleans, the delegates who were appointed to attend it from Troy, N. Y., provided themselves with certificates from their ministers and other officials, setting forth that they (the delegates), and the Christian body they represented, were utterly and absolutely free from the taint of Black Republicanism, from all connection and sympathy with abolition ideas, from all habit of considering negroes admissible to their Association, and (in general) from that whole class of thoughts, words and actions, to which their dear Christian friends of the South were known to make objection. So far as we know, the Trojan Young Christians were the only ones who took this particular method of commending themselves to their Southern brethren; but no doubt the Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the country were of one mind upon that matter. They all agreed in considering the slaveholders Christians, and in assuming that the slaves had better be left to their disposal.

How vast the change that has now taken place in our style of thought, language and action. But the Young Men's Christian Associations, and the churches out of which they sprang, have not wrought this change by voluntary action, as they ought to have done, nor even lent a helping hand when others called upon them to do so. They have simply followed the movement of the times, and the impulse of "military necessity." Instead of wielding a spiritual power for the overthrow of slavery, they first yielded to its tyranny, and then acquiesced in its destruction by secular and worldly hands.

Now, however, when a certain proportion of the negro's rights are secured to him beyond the power of recall, the churches acquiesce in this and adapt themselves to it as readily as any of the secular associations. Ten years ago, the "Old South" morning prayer-meeting—the meeting maintained by Rev. Dr. Blagden's church—would have refused the leadership of a colored man with as much "alacrity" as they did the request of prayer for a fugitive slave; now, Rev. Leonard Grimes not only takes his turn with others in leading that meeting, but proves a very acceptable leader; and moreover, the meeting is better under his direction than it used to be in the old times. It seems plain that "the world moves," morally as well as physically. And the church is so unwilling to be left behind by the world, that it keeps step and time, and in many things really does as well as its neighbors.

NORTH.

FACE OF THE SKY.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I HAVE just read in the papers of last week what follows:

Mr. Phillips says in THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, "all our duty is to press constantly on the nation the absolute need of three things. 1. The exercise of the whole police power of the government to hold the South quiet while the seeds of republicanism get planted. 2. The Constitutional Amendment, securing universal suffrage in spite of all State legislation. 3. A Constitutional Amendment authorizing Congress to establish common schools, etc. To these measures Mr. Phillips adds, "We must educate the public mind."

Mr. Greeley in the *Tribune* says, "We are most anxious that our present State Constitution shall be so amended as to secure prompt justice through the courts, preclude Legislative and Municipal corruption, and secure responsibility by concentrating Executive power." Through the approaching Constitutional Convention he says, the People "can secure justice through reformed courts, fix responsibility for abuses of Executive power; in short, they can increase the value of property; and the reward of honest labor evermore."

Mr. Tilton in the New York *Independent*, in allusion to the recent Republican defeat in Connecticut, concludes, "the policy of negro suffrage is clearly seen to be the only policy for the national welfare." • • "What, then, is the next step" (he asks), "in the progress of reconstruction?" In italics he answered, "we must make Impartial Suffrage the rule and practice of the Northern as well as the Southern States." He proposes a new Amendment to the Federal Constitution, "which shall secure to every American citizen, black and white, North and South, the American citizen's franchise." What is meant in this article from the *Independent* by "*Impartial Suffrage*," is understood by these words in another part of it: "The Republican party in Connecticut was abundantly strong enough to secure Impartial Suffrage. But it chose instead to insult its black-faced brethren, and refused their alliance."

The New York *Times* speaks without a stammer on the suffrage question. It declares: "In New York, suffrage is now *absolutely universal for all citizens*, except the colored people; and upon them it is only restricted by a slight property qualification!"

A correspondent of the Boston *Congregationalist*, in a letter from New York, tells us, "A Constitutional Convention is to be held shortly in this State and we expect to see Universal or Impartial Suffrage adopted." • • "The strong-minded women are at work to secure female voting; but they will fail, as they should!"

The *Congregationalist* has also an editorial article headed, "The Steps to Reconstruction," in which it speaks exultantly of "A Millennium of Republican ascendancy," and of "Impartial Suffrage" in them, as near at hand. But it, too, speaks only of freed men to be clothed with the rights of citizenship in the millennial and latter day glory so soon to be ushered in. Over the black *male* citizen this editor shouts, "Chattel, Contraband, Freedman, Soldier, Citizen, Voter, Counselor, Magistrate, Representative, Senator, these are or shall be the successive steps of his wonderful progress!!"

I have produced these as the best representations of the different styles or types of the radical or progressive movement in the work of reconstructing the government. That THE STANDARD and *Independent* believe fully in the right of woman to equal suffrage and citizenship is known to every attentive reader of those journals. But at an hour like this it is painful to witness anything like agreement even in language with the others I have cited. All Winter the conservative course of the *Independent* has been expected and excused on account of the absence of the principal editor. It is greatly to be desired now that it should redeem the past. Connecticut has now more to do than restore suffrage to the colored man. And the defeated Gov. Hawley will not deserve the praises so lavishly bestowed by the *Independent*, even should he now succeed in having that right restored, and himself re-elected afterwards in consequence. To rob the freed slave of citizenship to-day, is as much a crime as was slavery before the war and emancipation. And to withhold that divinely conferred gift from woman is every way as oppressive, cruel and unjust as though she were a black man. No man is born with three ballots in his hand; one to use himself, and one to confer on, or withhold from another on account of color, and another on account of sex, at his sovereign will and pleasure. Whoever asserts that claim has stolen goods in his possession, and the God of justice will hunt him through the universe till he repent of the wrong and restore them. It is a lie this pretence that one man, one party, or one sex holds the right of suffrage for another. They are robbers who usurp that prerogative. No slaveholder was ever more a robber. And as four years of war and almost a million human sacrifices only availed to terminate one form of tyranny, so every other form must be atoned for and adjusted at its appropriate cost. On the ruins of Fort Sumter we could have written the Emancipation Proclamation and saved the nationality without a war. But we waited to write on the wrinkling graves of half a million of our own young and strong, slaughtered by war, that deed of Justice and Right. And even then, the instrument had to be sealed with the blood and life of him who wrote it! the idolized Chief Magistrate of the Nation.

Now let injustice and cruelty attempt to restore again our fallen foundations, and see what shall come of it. That the Republican party is determined on it, is most apparent, at least so far as woman is an element. That it would even accept the disfranchisement of the whole negro race at the South, under the *Constitutional Amendment* itself has provided, is equally sure. That the popular religion of the country would sanctify the whole damning transaction, no more admits of doubt. But that woman is to have equal share in the new millennium, is no part of the national contemplation, in State or Church, two or three States only excepted. The present is no time for any of the friends of equal justice and the national safety and salvation to abate one jot or title in their high demand.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Concord, N. H., April 20, 1867.

P. S. You kindly alluded to my health last week in THE STANDARD. Some of your readers may be interested to know that though slowly improving, I have to give over public speaking for some time to come, on account of severe affection of the lungs and nervous prostration.

P.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S LECTURE.

IT is easy to understand why Wendell Phillips had so large share in abolitionizing New England. His arguments grow upon you. One shouldn't commence to pass an opinion upon his speeches earlier than, at least, twelve hours after their delivery. That is a safe rule with any speaker who is at all an orator. Its strict enforcement would be very damaging upon the reputation of most. Wendell Phillips has as little to fear from that mode of judgment as any man that ever assayed to educate a people and establish a cause by his spoken words. We do not wish to be understood that he is not convincing and effective while you listen to him; only that his words grow more effective and convincing hours and hours after you have gone out from his presence. You are pleased and interested while he speaks; it is not until afterwards, that he becomes wonderful to you.

One is struck by the sincerity and earnestness of Mr. Phillips. But numberless other men are sincere and earnest. His great strength, that which distinguishes him from every other man that we ever heard speak upon political topics, is his transcendant apperception of principles, and his clearness in stating them. Other men give you fragments—his utterances seem to be revelations of the infinite unity. Truth is veiled in the inner temple, remote from the ways of men. Phillips inspires you as though he had been admitted into her presence and were her oracle. The Brahminic mythos, to which he referred, saw the bonds of just government, spiritual, invisible, emanating from mind, infolding men, thence stretching back to mind. Men in the gross, never see them. The good genii have strengthened Phillips's vision, and those spiritual cords have become palpable, visible to him. To this extent, he belongs not alone to this, but to all generations.

Gray-haired, benignant-featured, mild, the moral faculties as largely developed as the reflective, this placid countenance, benevolent, quietly-speaking old gentleman, who has a cordial shake of the hand and a hearty greeting for even the youngest boys—this can scarcely be the terrible Abolitionist and fierce Radical who has been the best-abused, and most ill-abused man in the country for a quarter of a century. Whom the South has threatened with so repeated hangings that he must needs have more than nine times a cat's nine lives if he should undergo them all, and whom the Democracy have used to scare Republicans out of their political boots by the mere mention of his name. Still harder is it to realize this, when he begins speaking; and the more he speaks, the more you don't realize it. Impracticable? Fanatical? Why, he is one of the most entirely plain, common-sense, practical and practicable men we ever heard. He might well defend himself on this score. Yet would not one that listened to him think that he needed any defence. He does not disregard expediency. He has the highest regard for it. He thinks it expedient to do right. He will convince you, too, if you give him a hearing. This is what made him such a power in the cause of freedom; that made him such a terror to the Slave Power.

We don't purpose an attempt to give even a synopsis of his lecture. For if there were no other reasons against it, a lecture is the lecturer's private property. A journalist has no more right to give publicity to it than he has to publish Dr. A.'s mode of treating typhus, or Dr. B.'s mode of treating an ague. It is safe to say that at the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's lecture, there were at least eight-tenths of the audience disappointed; he was not so eloquent as they expected. By this time the number that think they are disappointed, has fallen three-tenths. It will rest at that unless Mr. Phillips should be heard again; in that event the unsatisfied class would be proportionately reduced. He is plain, polished, elegant. He has an attractive personal presence, and a voice, full, distinct, agreeable. He talked to his audience—didn't storm at it. He doesn't "tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings." His first words were only just distinctly heard, in all parts of the room—that was all. He kept along without varying greatly from that level, and closed in the same key. He excites little applause; but, what is a better sign of power, very intense quiet.

His argument was very clear, forcible, powerful. He gives you clear-impressed, new-minted, intellectual coin, not so hot in themselves, but you value them because you see they are the products of a glowing seventimes heated furnace of honest and intense convictions. The old Puritan firmness and severity, and devotion to principle, which beheaded King Charles, and voluntarily exiled itself for conscience sake, speaks in Wendell Phillips, when this man who has pleaded through life the cause of the oppressed, and sought the abolition of capital punishment, cites sternly, as might Cotton Mather himself, God's mode of dealing with the Israelites, as a precedent for our people in reconstruction. He doesn't want the Southern people exterminated, but he does want that the conquered idea in the late war, shall be, and his argument was overwhelming and convincing. The difference between Wendell Phillips and other men, on the score of character, is his boldness. He speaks what other men think. He doesn't think any man can afford to do wrong. If a man has done nine hundred and ninety-nine just things, Phillips reproves him roundly for the one thousandth, if that be at all unjust. Phillips arraigned Congress, and Beecher, and Gen. Grant. He didn't differ from Republicans as to the things for which he arraigned them; Republicans only would not go the same length in dealing out condemnation upon Congress, Beecher, and Grant, for unsatisfactory conduct, as Phillips goes. And our people will feel little disposed to distrust or scold Grant, since he has been persistent in his purposes to give the rebels over into proper keeping, and has given the Southern Military Districts, under the Reconstruction bill, into the hands of such true unyielding men as Sickles, Sheridan, Thomas, Schofield, and Ord. Yet Phillips did not say one word against Grant which the man devoted to the right, above all else, should condemn.

Taken, all in all, the lecture was a grand production; one with a spirit in it to elevate and exalt a people; to lead them out of the trucks and narrow ways of partisan thought and action, into the high grounds of principle, where truth is revealed and worshipped for its own sake; where the citizens of this republic, getting purer purposes and loftier resolves, will be inspired to go on and establish our nationality on [illegible] such basis, as by confirming liberty, and truth, and justice, shall secure the benedictions of humanity and the approval of God.—*Hookuk (Iowa) Gate City.*

THE BEQUESTS OF THE LATE FRANCIS JACKSON.

IN the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, the following decision, interesting to many of our readers, has been made:

Edmund Jackson, Executor, vs. Wendell Phillips et als. This was a bill in equity brought by the executor against the trustees under the will of the late Francis Jackson to obtain instructions as to its construction. The will bears date on the 28th of January, 1861.

The fourth article bequeaths to Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and others, respondents, as a board of trustees, ten thousand dollars, to be expended as they deem best, for the preparation and circulation of books, newspapers, the delivery of speeches, lectures, and such other means, as will put an end to negro slavery in this country.

The fifth article bequeaths to the same board of trustees two thousand dollars, to be expended by them for the benefit of fugitive slaves who may escape from the slaveholding States of this infamous Union.

The sixth article bequeaths to certain of the respondents five thousand dollars, to be expended by them as they deem fit to secure the passage of laws granting women, whether married or unmarried, the right to vote, to hold office, to hold, manage and devise property; and all other rights enjoyed by men; and for the preparation and circulation of books and the delivery of lectures and such other means as they may deem best.

The eighth, ninth and tenth articles give the residue of the testator's estate in trust, the income to be paid to his three children during their natural lives, providing also for the disposal of the same after their decease.

The case having been argued before the Supreme Court, that Court have now given the following decision as to the construction of the will:

"The gift in the fourth article of the will for the purpose of creating a public sentiment that would put an end to negro slavery in this country constituted a legal charity which might, at the time of the testator's death, have been applied in a lawful manner.

"The gift in the fifth article for the benefit of fugitive slaves was also a charitable gift, which might at that time have been lawfully applied at least to the extinguishment by purchase of those alleging themselves to be their masters, or to the relief of those fugitive slaves who might be in distress.

"These two charitable trusts, having taken effect at the death of the testator, were not terminated or destroyed by the abolition of slavery by the thirteenth article of Amendment of the Constitution of the United States; but are to be applied to carry out in a lawful manner the intentions of the testator as nearly as possible, according to a scheme to be settled by a master in chancery and approved by the court before the funds are paid over to the trustees named in the will.

"The gift in the sixth article, to create a trust, unrestricted in point of time, to secure the passage of laws granting to women different rights from those belonging to them under the existing Constitution and laws, did not constitute a legal charity, and was therefore inoperative and void, and remitted to the testator's heirs-at-law.

"The income of one-third of the residue mentioned in the eighth article is to be paid as therein directed to the testator's daughter, Mrs. Eddy, and his grand-daughter, Mrs. Bacon, during their respective lives; and the remainder of that third will go to the heirs-at-law of the testator as a resulting trust.

"The income of the two other thirds of the residue is to be paid according to the directions of the ninth and tenth articles respectively to the testator's son, James, and the testator's daughter, Mrs. Palmer, during their respective lives. The principal of each of these two-thirds of the residue upon the deaths of said son and daughter respectively, in case he or she should leave no children surviving, will go by way of contingent remainder to the charity established by the fourth article, and be paid after the settlement of a scheme for its application to the trustees therein named."

The court accordingly order the following decree to be entered: "That the property mentioned in the sixth, eighth, ninth and tenth articles of the will be disposed of as above directed; that the case be referred to a master to settle and report a scheme for the application, as nearly as possible, according to the intentions of the testator, of the property given in trust by the fourth and fifth articles of the will; that the attorney-general, the executor, and the trustees named in said fourth article may submit drafts of schemes for the master's approval; and that all further directions be reserved."

S. E. Sewall and G. W. Phillips for the executor, and S. Bartlett and J. G. King for the respondents.

THE DEATH OF GEORGE L. STEARNS.

From the New York Tribune.

MAJOR GEORGE L. STEARNS.

THE cause of freedom in the United States has lost a noble champion by the death of Maj. George L. Stearns, which occurred in this city on last Tuesday, in consequence of congestion of the lungs. Mr. Stearns was an enterprising Boston merchant, being the head of the firm of Geo. L. Stearns & Co., one of the heaviest houses in New England in the lead and patent pipe business. His devotion to the cause of freedom became first known in this country at large in the Kansas troubles in the last decade. Few men contributed more generously to the support of the martyrs of freedom than Stearns.

He founded and long supported the Boston *Commonwealth*, and subsequently founded another newspaper, called the *Right Way*, which was an able advocate of universal suffrage. During the late rebellion Mr. Stearns was at one time engaged in raising colored troops in Tennessee, and there became intimate with Andrew Johnson, then Military Governor of Tennessee. Mr. Stearns, who was in general of a confiding nature, retained his confidence in Andrew Johnson long after the bulk of the Republican party had lost it. The letter on his interview with the President, helped the President for a time, but Mr. Stearns was not long in discovering his mistake.

Mr. Stearns used his large fortune with the most open-handed liberality in behalf of the noblest causes. He had great talent for business, positive opinions on finance, and a heart which neither trade nor an intimate acquaintance with politics was ever able to corrupt or to harden. Though he gave freely, he gave with a discriminating generosity, and no man's money went further than his. He well understood the value of such influences as bear directly on public opinion, and he was able to afford the luxury of newspapers, sustained almost wholly out of his private purse, and advocating his own ideas, which were always those of freedom and justice, with unflinching fidelity. The wisest and ablest public men of New England gave him their unreserved confidence and ardent friendship, and his inflexible zeal, his courage, and his enthusiasm were in turn a support to which they turned often. John Brown, who trusted few, trusted Mr. Stearns, and probably not a few of the secrets of the Harper's Ferry crusade died with him, who is supposed to have known well, and perhaps who largely aided, the plans of the heroic martyr. It was his incessant activity in many noble causes which, adding to the labor of a business which he conducted with great energy and sagacity, finally wore out a Constitution that had long been impaired. Commemoration services were held in Medford, on Sunday afternoon, and a discourse was pronounced by Ralph Waldo Emerson, from an imperfect report of which we quote a few sentences:

"He was intimate with all men of real or supposed influence, both North and South, who were engaged in the cause which he had so dear at heart, and he was looked upon by them, as he will be by all who now mourn his loss, as an American republican, virtually a man of the people, an indispensable power in the State in which he lived. His deeds and his activity were worth 10,000 men in the cause of liberty, but Mr. Emerson did not say this in any sense of disparagement of the noble deeds of others which were brought out during the eventful struggle. What disheartened others seemed to stimulate him. He was no boaster, but a man of up-hill work, not waiting until morning, but beginning at midnight. He was a genuine enthusiast in his love for freedom and the good of men, and in his early career he overtasked himself and prematurely wore out his constitution. But when we consider that he lived to witness the salvation of the country to which he gave his whole heart, and beheld that his work must prosper, we must believe that he counted himself most happy among men. He would say to the mourners not to be proud in their grief, for there was not a town in the distant far-off Kansas where the people would not mingle their sorrow, and in every Southern State his death will be lamented by the thousands who looked upon him as a benefactor."

From the Boston Transcript.

GEORGE L. STEARNS.

THIS and other communities will hear with sadness of the sudden decease of this well-known, highly esteemed and much beloved gentleman, who was so intelligent and active as a merchant, so incessant in his liberal giving, so zealous and pure in his patriotism, and so devoted to every good cause that promised to elevate and enlighten humanity. He died of lung fever in New York on Tuesday evening last, after a brief illness of only a few days. For the past five years he had been giving all too freely of his strength, under the pressure of his philanthropic impulses, in every direction in which he saw an opportunity to benefit his fellow-men. It was not wealth alone that he expended but his very life. It was not by counsel merely but by untiring personal service also that he made so constantly manifest his characteristic beneficence. The laboring hand as well as the open hand was his; and both obeyed the instincts of a generous heart and the dictates of an enlightened conscience.

Mr. Stearns was a reformer who sought the removal of evil by striking at its roots, and thus in the noblest sense of the word he was a Radical. Whatever commended itself to him as truth in principles or truth in deeds, he frankly avowed as his belief or earnestly put into his own conduct. From the first he took a strong interest in the colored race of this country. He toiled and wrote and spent his time and money to secure their freedom, and when that was given to them he was equally anxious and equally unceasing in his endeavors to make them worthy of their recovered manhood and rights. The unselfish manner in which he was the earliest to advocate their enlistment in the Federal army, and the readiness with which he sacrificed home comforts and personal interests to [illegible] this object, are known throughout the land. To him, as much if not more than to any other man, is due the honor of putting the musket into the hands of the oppressed, that they might thus help achieve their deliverance, which was sure to bring with it the privileges and responsibilities of freemen.

But Mr. Stearns was not exclusive in his philanthropic efforts. These were as varied as they were unwearied. Ready to go to Tennessee to do brave acts for a hitherto despised and defrauded people, despised by mean prejudice and defrauded by meaner avarice, he was found equally ready to bestow of his abundance to help the descendants of classic ancestors to throw off the yoke of Turkish bondage. These two instances of humane action are only illustrations of his whole course. Wherever he was known, he was known not only for his integrity, mental ability, diligent habits and kindly manners, but also for the largeness and warmth of his affections, the purity of his purposes and his obedience to the Christian law of love. In his death the country has lost one of its truest patriots, and humanity a firm, consistent and wise friend. For all that he was moved and permitted to do we must be thankful; and yet as his worth is recalled there will be poignant sorrow throughout an extended circle that the earthly tasks he so faithfully undertook are ended.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

DEATH OF GEORGE L. STEARNS.

It is with inexpressible sorrow that we record the death in New York, on Tuesday evening last, of this distinguished and equally generous politician and philanthropist,—a sorrow that will be shared by thousands throughout the country of all conditions and positions in life. For some months the deceased had been suffering from a complication of complaints, and at the time of his decease was seeking relief and rest by a little travel.

Mr. Stearns was a native of Medford, Mass., and the son of a teacher of reputation. In early life he took up the business of ship-chandlery, and subsequently was associated in it with Albert Fearing, Esq., of this city. After a prosperous career he commenced the manufacture of sheet and pipe lead, in which also he attained eminent success. In these several positions he gave evidence of great business talent and the possession of rare tact and foresight.

Mr. Stearns early espoused the Anti-Slavery cause, in the faithful and generous advocacy of which he has, perhaps, won his greatest eminence, though he has not been an inactive supporter of other noble enterprises. He was a "Conscience-Whig" in 1846-7, and a Free-Soiler, naturally, in 1848. Since then, by every possible human effort, he has aided the great struggle for the freedom and recognition of the manhood of the black man. He was a warm friend of John Brown, aided him in Kansas, and stood by him unflinchingly in those efforts in Virginia which resulted in his death. His examination before the Congressional committee (headed by Senator Mason of Virginia) appointed to investigate the Virginia raid, cannot have been forgotten, when, with imperturbable calmness, Mr. Stearns stated his pecuniary relations with Capt. Brown, and his high appreciation of that hero. The imperious Senator, forecasting the future in this private citizen's devotion to principle, closed the investigation with the acknowledgment that civil war must ensue ere the slavery question was settled. It was by the order of Mrs. Stearns, the devoted wife of the subject of thus notice, that Brackett, the sculptor, proceeded to Charlestown, Va., and made the necessary measurements in prison for the magnificent bust of the martyr that now adorns the saddened home at Medford.

Soon after the breaking-out of the late war, Mr. Stearns turned his attention to the necessity of enlisting the black man in the national cause, having previously labored assiduously in the emancipation movement. The Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts Regiments and the Fifth Cavalry, were largely recruited through his instrumentality. In Pennsylvania, Maryland and Tennessee, being commissioned as Major through the recommendation of Secretary Stanton, he was of untold service to the national cause by enlisting regiment after regiment of black men in the volunteer army. Everywhere his work was systematically and thoroughly done.

In these various enterprises he had a wonderful faculty in pressing others into the work, and never tired, and left no means untried, in securing success. To this end all instrumentalities were used. He was the founder of *The Commonwealth* and *Right Way*,—newspapers for the dissemination of his ideas,—and he bestowed upon these two papers what to many men would be independent fortunes. He saw the cause to aid which they were established pre-eminently successful.

To all his friends, and especially to his stricken family, it must be the highest of consolations that Major Stearns saw the rounding-out and full consummation of the great principles to which his life was devoted. Freedom everywhere,—the slave free, and a citizen, and a soldier, and a voter,— all this he saw before he passed on; and his dying eye must have beamed with unwonted brilliancy as it closed upon a country redeemed and regenerated by the efforts of men of like faith, courage and constancy,—among whom he will ever stand in vision and to the memory as one of the great central figures!

A PHILADELPHIA correspondent says: "The Colored People's Union League, of Philadelphia, will hold a grand jubilee in National Hall, on Friday evening, April 26, 1867. It is to celebrate the passing of the bill that now enables colored persons to ride in the street cars of Philadelphia. Two hundred and fifty influential friends of equal rights are being invited to attend, including Gov. Geary. The Delmonico band has been engaged. After the speaking is over, and a cold collation to the speakers, a grand promenade will be commenced, to continue till morning dawns on a rejoicing assembly."

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Valley Falls, R. I., on the 20th of March, SAMUEL OLIVER, eldest son of Samuel and Elizabeth B. Chace, aged 23 years and 5 months.

The life of this young man promised to be one of great usefulness. Interested in all reforms, his feelings were especially enlisted in behalf of temperance, and the elevation of the factory people by whom he was surrounded. During his long sickness he twice attempted to write a temperance lecture he had engaged to deliver as soon as the recovery he confidently anticipated should enable him so to do. He several times said he believed time enough was never granted to any man's life to do all he had planned since his sickness. His work on earth was done; yet we believe that still he will find means, in that other life, to accomplish his plans of usefulness. His funeral was attended by the division of the Sons of Temperance which he had founded, and the chief officer of which he had been for two terms.

Mr. Garrison conducted the services, and among the other speakers were George Thompson and Theodore D. Weld. Mr. Thompson made a beautiful appeal to the young men within the hearing of his voice to come forward to fill the place of the departed, that he might not be missed, nor the poor inebriate feel himself more friendless because of his death. • • •

DIED, on the 28th of February, a beloved and venerated mother, MARGARET THOMAS, widow of Jacob Thomas, of Fairmount, Stark county, Ohio. Throughout her long journey of fourscore and six years, her life was characterized by loving words and generous deeds, which lifted the cloud of sorrow from anguished brows, and removed the torturing shackles from enslaved limbs. Calmly beautiful, the disenthralled spirit exchanged its frail tenement of suffering mortality for garments of immortal beauty and the glories of a home made bright by the smiles of Deity. • • •

DIED, in Philadelphia, on the 17th inst., ISABEL MARY JONES, in the thirteenth year of her age, only child of Gulielma M. and the late G. Dillwyn Jones, of that city.

LITERARY.

The current number of *Macmillan's Magazine* adds to the large stock of Eliana by a gossippy article entitled "Charles Lamb—Gleanings after his Biographers."

The *Galary* is hereafter to be a monthly, instead of a fortnightly magazine, as before.

The last number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* contains the first four chapters of Mr. Henry Kingley's new serial story, "Mademoiselle Mathilde."

The students of Milton will find something to their taste in the April number of *Good Words*, in the shape of a fresh translation of some of his Italian sonnets.

Mr. William L. Gage has nearly ready a translation from the German of Francke on "The Rise and Progress of the Orphan Houses of Halle."

The dramatic works of Victor Hugo are about to be restored to the French stage, says the Paris correspondent of the *Independance Belge*, the necessary permission having been obtained both from the government and the author.

Ralph Waldo Emerson's new volume of poems will contain several productions never before made public. It will appear some time in May.

The many friends of Miss Louisa M. Alcott, author of Moods and other works, will be glad to learn that she has greatly improved in health of late, and expects to resume her literary labors at an early day.

Mr. Conway, writing from London in regard to American newspaper correspondents abroad, says:

"Indeed, American correspondents are getting the reputation of being in league with all the potentates of Europe. Smalley of the *Tribune*, came over here, went over to Berlin while the German war was going on, and was soon chatting familiarly with Bismark, and presently at headquarters, while Edward Dicey, and other correspondents of the Londin press were tediously disentangling the endless red tape-worm which held them in Berlin until the war was nearly over. When the King of Italy visited Venice, Coffin ("Carleton") was there taking notes not three yards from him all the time, while G. A. Sala, representing the London *Telegraph*, sitting grandly in a gondola with two ladies, was gnashing his teeth at the police, who kept him at bay a half-mile from the centre of interest.

Maga Stories is another interesting volume just issued by our old radical friends, G. P. Putnam & Son, No. 661 Broadway, New York. It is remarkable for its cheapness, being 325 well printed pages for 75 cents. The "Stories" appeared many years ago in *Putnam's Monthly*, and the *Atlantic*. The volume contains seventeen; a varied assortment for Spring evenings. In compositions they are sprightly, pungent, graceful and dashing. "The Mormon's Wife" will be the most attractive just now.

RECEIVED.

NICHOLAS NICKLEBY, by Charles Dickens, the "Diamond ed

Miscellaneous Department.

JOHN BROWN OF HARPER'S FERRY.

BY THE LATE CHARLOTTE P. HAWES.

Hero that pays our country's pawn!
The soul that felt and dared to smite!
The man who dies to say that Right
Is better stuff than blood and brawn!

Our words that spun full three years' course
On Freedom failing sun by sun,
In him to molten lightnings run,
And welded thinking into force.

In rough-cast brain this Northern will
From suffering all its steel had wrought,
Till, striking surer than its thought,
The shock rang sharp from hill to hill.

Ah, sire! our tears are such as roll
On days of Triumph, not of Death;
We bring thee them, and love, and faith,
Our royal way of soul *for* soul.

We count thy dying so sublime,
Our woman hands we would not lay
About that brave old heart to stay
Its flowing life, and wrong our time.

Oh, doubt not who of these shall win!
Or who is traitor to th' eleven!
This man in front of open heaven,
Or wrathful ones that swing him in.

Doubt not our world takes heart again;
And hand of brotherhood grow warm,
Startling each other, palm to palm,
With this hot stroke on Southern chain.

Earth feels the time of prophet-song—
When lives from land to land shall say—
And think it praise enough to say—
"We are too just to bide with Wrong."

Oh, comes a deeper wisdom then,—
And owns that in our golden year,
One fire-anointed soul was clear
To glass God's image forth to men.

HYDROPHOBIA.

A SINGULAR CASE—A YOUNG LADY THE VICTIM—HER SUFFERINGS—TERRIBLE SYMPTOMS OF THE HORRID MALADY—POSSIBLE RECOVERY.

From the Indianapolis Journal, April 2.

Some eight weeks ago, Miss Selina Eller, an intelligent young lady of twenty-two years, daughter of Mr. Harvey Eller, residing at Beck's Station, on the Peru Railroad, in Hamilton county, was bitten by a rabid dog, while she was endeavoring to drive him out of the house. The wound was on the finger, and so very slight that it excited no alarm, although the dog was known to be mad. As usual in cases of hydrophobia, she thought nothing more about the matter until the morning of Monday, the 25th ultimo, when, on going to wash her face, the touch of the water "made her shudder," as she described it. The fearful truth flashed on her instantly; but, being a lady of great self-command, she simply said to her sister, "I am going to go mad; I can't live," adding that she would, however, "finish spinning the rolls she was engaged upon. She worked on during the day, with some increase of the horrible symptoms, but nothing visible to others; and the next morning, on sitting down to the table, she remarked to the family, "You must take that water from the table or I can't eat anything." She ate but little, and got up, saying she would go to work again. She continued through that day as before, but with a decided strengthening of her repugnance to water, of which, she said, "the very sight sent a tingling feeling all through her." She also complained that the glistening face of the clock affected her in the same way. On Wednesday she was too far overcome to work, and while standing in the floor speaking to some of her family, she began grinding her teeth, and directly after fell down in a fit, the foam working out of her mouth, her teeth gnashing, and her body frightfully convulsed. Some of the younger children who were with her at the time ran out in great alarm, and the neighbors hurrying in, found her on the floor near the fire, in the same terrible condition, but she bit so furiously at every one who touched her, that it was impossible to do anything with her. The fire was removed so that she might not injure herself by it, and she was left lying till the spasm had passed off. She was then placed upon the bed, and Dr. Rooker called in. When he arrived she was again convulsed, and senseless, uttering short barking sounds, and snapping at everything that approached her. A bloody froth was constantly issuing from her mouth, which she tried to spit at those around her. He caused her to be tied down in bed, and proceeded to administer morphine to relieve her agony. In a lucid interval she remonstrated, saying, "I must die—I know it, and I want to die in my senses; so don't stupefy me with medicine." After another fit the doctor proposed another dose of morphine, and at last she consented, but added: "You must not give it to me with water." But this remedy produced little effect. The awful paroxysms continued, with the same frightful suggestions of doggish sound and the same frantic efforts to spit. She bit her hands terribly, and bit pieces out of the pillow and bed-clothes. Dr. A. G. Ruddle was also called in, but his assistance was as unavailing as that of Dr. Rooker. This, we believe was the next day, Thursday; but at all events, on that day Dr. Rooker determined to try the effect of "bromide of potassium," which had been recommended by some European physician in cases of hydrophobia. Dr. Ruddle happening to have a small quantity with him, it was at once administered, and the treatment has been steadily kept up since, till yesterday nearly two ounces had been given. The symptoms continued with little or no apparent abatement till Sunday or yesterday, when they were considerably less marked. The fits occurred less frequently, and with less severity. The unfortunate lady had ceased biting herself, and had sufficient knowledge of her situation to wrap her arms up tightly in the bed-clothes, when she felt the spasm coming on, to keep them out of danger. Though very far from being out of danger, the abatement of the symptoms has been so decided as to create some hope of her recovery, which, if realized, will make this one of the most remarkable cases on record. A great many physicians and hundreds of the people in the vicinity have visited her, and some of our city physicians, we understand, will visit her to-day.

The case has, as may be supposed, created a perfect crusade against the dogs in all the region about. The citizens of Noblesville, some seven or eight miles north, made a general attack on their dog population a few days since, and killed all they could find. The prevalence of hydrophobia all over this State this Winter, is singular. We hear of mad dogs everywhere, east, west, north and south. And the alarm is no idle one, as at least a score of lives horribly lost, attest.

A Novel Mode of Electioneering.—A story is going about the London clubs of a candidate for a vacant seat in Parliament. He was walking through the streets of the borough with his attorney, when a neutral voter was pointed out. The legal adviser said that the candidate had better tackle the voter at once. "What is his profession?" said the candidate. "I am not sure," was the reply; "but I rather think that he is a trunk-maker." "How do you do, how do you do, my dear sir?" said the candidate; "how very fortunate that I have made your acquaintance. Mrs. X. has been travelling about a good deal lately, and has worn out her trunk; please make me the very best trunk that you possibly can." "I am much flattered by your commands," said the voter, "but I am not a trunk-maker." "Oh, yes you are," says the candidate. "No, indeed, I am not," says the voter. "Then pray what are you?" says the candidate. "If you please, sir, I am a coffin-maker." "Oh, that will do just as well," said Mr. X., the candidate; "please make me a coffin—the very best coffin you possibly can." The voter said, "Please, sir, you are joking; now, I don't like that." Mr. X., in reply: "Never was more serious in my life." "Well," says the voter, "all is fair in the way of business. But please give me a written order." "By all manner of means," said Mr. X., who at once gave the written order. About a week after, a hearse, with plumes and feathers, drew up at a comfortable family mansion in one of the London parks, and out came a coffin. The servants were horrified, and declined to take the dark object indoors. The undertaker was inexorable. Mr. X. was at dinner, and being interrogated by his servant, desired the coffin to be brought into the house. "But where shall we put it?" said Mrs. X. "Under the bed," said Mr. X. To this Mrs. X. decidedly objected. Soon all the servants came and began to insinuate symptoms of giving warning. They could not think of abiding in the house with a coffin. Mr. X. then ordered it to be taken to his chambers in the Temple. On one of his friends asking him what he had done with the coffin, he admitted that he had put a whole set of voluminous law reports into it. A man like this, who is so good at an emergency, would save a colony if the geese were cackling at the door. He must himself be above price.

JOHN G. WHITTIER ON HIS OWN LITERARY LIFE.

To the Editor of the Nation:

I am very well aware that merely personal explanations are not likely to be as interesting to the public as to the parties concerned; but I am induced to notice what is either a misconception on thy part or, as is most probable, a failure on my own to make myself clearly understood. In the review of "The Tent on the Beach," in thy paper of last week, I confess I was not a little surprised to find myself represented as regretting my life-long and active participation in the conflict which has ended in the emancipation of the slave, and that I had not devoted myself to purely literary pursuits. In the half-playful lines upon which this statement is founded, if I did not feel at liberty to boast my anti-slavery labors and magnify my editorial profession, I certainly did not mean to underrate them or express the shadow of a regret that they had occupied so large a share of my time and thought. The simple fact is, that I cannot be sufficiently thankful to the Divine Providence that so early called my attention to the great interests of humanity, saving me from the poor ambitions and miserable jealousies of a selfish pursuit of literary reputation. Up to a comparatively recent period my literary writings have been simply episodical, something apart from the real object and aim of my life, and whatever of favor they have found with the public has come to me as a grateful surprise rather than as an expected reward. As I have never staked all upon the chances of authorship, I have been spared the pain of disappointment, and the temptation to envy those who, as men of letters, deservedly occupy a higher place in the popular estimation than I have ever aspired to. Truly, thy friend, John G. Whittier.

Amesbury, 9th Third Month, 1867.

The Queen's Book.—The London correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says of the Queen's Book, "Leaves from My Journal in the Highlands," that it consists of about forty papers descriptive of her life at Balmoral and the neighborhood. The work is illustrated by photographs and woodcuts from her Majesty's sketches. It contains among other interesting matter, three long accounts of incognito journeys made by the Prince Consort and herself to different parts of Scotland, and the adventures which they met with. In one of the papers she gives an account of the preaching of Dr. Norman McLeod, of Glasgow, and after stating how astonished she was that any one could preach "so eloquently and touchingly without notes," she adds, "and then he prayed so kindly for me and the Prince in the after prayer that I was deeply touched; but when he invoked God's blessing on the children, I felt a great lump come in my throat." She had not expected to be prayed for so kindly by a Presbyterian, and least of all did she expect him to pray for the children. I think there is something touching in this simple note of the queen-wife and mother, which shows how true a woman she is. Only forty copies of the work have been printed for special friends and favorites, but sooner or later it will, of course, be reprinted, and will be a most interesting addition to contemporary literature. What would the world not give for such a work by Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth? The copy from which I have quoted bore on the title page the following inscription:

"To dear Jeannie G———, in remembrance of many, many happy hours—gone never to return again, from V. R."

DISGUISE.

Many golden flow'rets lie
In the orbs of April daisies;
Many buds have more than eye
Can discern that lightly gazes.

Many hearts that careless seem
Have no lack of feeling deep;
Prattle they like pebbled stream;
Thus they hide the thoughts they keep;

And, alas! while silver strings
Only wake with silver tones,
Timid Truth a music flings
Which belies the thought she owns.

—*Chambers's Journal.*

What was Thought of Railroads Forty Years Ago.—The following letter, in reply to a suggestion about railroads, written forty years ago, by Chancelor Livingston, who had been associated with his brother-in-law, Robert Fulton, in application of steam to vessels, shows the state of improvement in that day:

"Albany, March 11, 1811.

"Dear Sir: I did not till yesterday receive yours of the 25th of February; where it has loitered on the road I am at a loss to say. I had before read of your very ingenious proposition as to the railway communication. I fear, however, on mature reflection, that they will be liable to serious objection, and ultimately more expensive than a canal. They must be double, so as to prevent the danger of two such heavy bodies meeting. The walls on which they are placed, must be, at least four feet below the surface, and three above, and must be clamped with iron, and even then would hardly sustain so heavy a weight as you propose moving at the rate of four miles an hour on wheels. As to wood, it would not last a week. They must be covered with iron, and that, too, very thick and strong. The means of stopping these heavy carriages without a *great shock*, and of preventing them from running upon each other—for there would be many running upon the road at once—would be very difficult. In cases of accidental stops, or necessary stops to take wood and water, etc., many accidents would happen. The carriage of condensing would be very troublesome. Upon the whole, I fear the expense would be much greater than that of canals, without being so convenient. R. R. Livingston."

An Ancient Eight Hour Law.—The advocates of an eight hour law who think that they have discovered a new thing under the sun, will find their mistake by reading the subjoined extract from the ancient records of Springfield, all of which Mr. Folsom, the City Clerk, is carefully copying to insure their preservation. Not only the time of labor, but the amount of wages is limited, a conjunction that would be hardly relished now-a-days. And just imagine the present City Council passing such an order as the following, which was adopted by the "plantation," December 24, 1641, five years after the first settlement of Springfield:

"It is mutually by vote agreed for ye orderinge of wages for severall labourers viz: husbandmen, or ordinary laborers from ye first of November to ye first of March to worke at 18d p day, for ye other pt of ye yeare not to take above 20d p day; for carpenters for ye first 4 months 20d p day, for ye other pt of the yeare 2s p day, for mowers 2s p day, for taylers 10d p day wch severall labourers are to worke 8 howrs in ye winter pt & 10 howrs in ye somer pt, besides eatinge and sleepinge, taylors to work 12 howrs: it is alsoe ordered for teasems that they shall worke 4 cattell and one man at 6d p day from May till October to worke 8 howrs & ye other pt 6 howrs & if they carry by ye loade to worke pportionably this order to continue for one wholl y: followinge on till order be taken to ye contrary."—*Springfield (Mass.) Republican.*

The Woodpecker's Foresight.—The woodpecker in California is a storer of acorns. The tree he selects is invariably of the pine tribe. He bores several holes differing slightly in size, at the fall of the year, and then flies away, in many instances to a long distance, and returns with an acorn, which he immediately sets about adjusting to one of the hcles prepared for its reception, which will hold it tightly in its position. But he does not eat the acorn; for, as a rule, he is not a vegetarian. His object in storing away the acorn exhibits acute foresight, and knowledge of results more akin to reason than to instinct. The succeeding Winter the acorn remains intact, but becoming saturated with rain is predisposed to decay, when it is attacked by maggots, who seem to delight in this special food. It is then that the woodpecker reaps the harvest his wisdom has provided, at a time when the ground being covered with snow he would experience a difficulty, otherwise, in obtaining suitable or palatable food. It is a subject of speculation why the red-wood cedar or the sugar pine is invariably selected. It is not probable that the insect, the most dainty to the woodpecker's taste, frequents only the outside of wet trees; but so it is, that in Calaveras, Mariposa, and other districts of California, trees of this kind may be frequently seen covered all over their trunks with acorns when there is not an oak tree within several miles.

AFTER THE STORM.

The spray leaps high on the jutting crag,
But the winds are large no more.
The tide flows in to the drenched land:
With a mighty sweep, like a giant hand
That is never at rest, the billows drag
The weed from the wreck-strewn shore.

The fisherman's cottage, with slanting eaves,
Stands alone against the sky:
A crimson light shone out all night,
From the window where gleamed two faces white,
(Oh, phantoms and dreams the darkness weaves!)
Till the storm had thundered by.

But the ways of God are wise and good,
Whether life or death may be.
A cheery wife spreads the morning meal:
Oh, the joyful tears! they will downward steal;
And the fisherman sits, in his oilskin hood,
With his children on his knee.

—*George Cooper in the Round Table.*

Good for Forty Tunes.—The Shelby (Ind.) *Courier* says: Organs in the churches have become very fashionable of late. In almost every church you go into you will find one of these instruments. A friend of ours, who lives in a neighboring village, related to us yesterday an amusing incident which occurred in their church.

He said, to be in fashion, they must have an organ. The congregation could not afford to pay an organist, so they got a self-acting organ, a compact instrument, well suited to the purpose, and constructed to play forty tunes.

The sexton had instructions how to set it going, and how to stop it; but, unfortunately, he forgot the latter part of his business; and after singing the first four verses of a hymn before the sermon, the organ could not be stopped, and continued playing two verses more; then just as the clergyman completed the words "let us pray," the organ again clicked and started another tune.

The sexton and others continued their exertions to find the spring, but no one could put a stop to it; so they got four of the stoutest men in the church to shoulder the perverse instrument, and they carried it down the aisle of the church, playing away, into the church yard, where it continued clicking and playing until the whole forty tunes were finished.

An Old Times Newspaper.—The Boston *News Letter* contained the following notice in August, 1719: "The 'undertaker' of this *News Letter*, in January last, gave information that, after fourteen years experience, it was impossible, with a half-sheet a week, to carry on all the public occurrences of Europe; to make up which deficiency, and to render the news newer and more acceptable, he has since printed, every other week, a whole sheet; whereby that which seemed old in the former half-sheet becomes new now by the sheet; which is easy to be seen by any one who will take the pains to track back former years, and even this time twelve months. We were then thirteen months behind with the foreign news, and now we are less than five months; so that by the sheet we have retrieved about eight months since January last, and any one that has the *News Letter* to January next (life permitted) will be accommodated with all the news from Europe needful to be known in these parts." Afterwards the publisher gave notice that if he did not print a sheet every other week during the Winter, he would make it up in the Spring, "when ships do arrive from Great Britain."—*Newspaper Press.*

A Lecture on the sensibility between a flame under certain conditions and certain sounds was recently delivered at the Royal Institute of Great Britain. Illustrating these phenomena, Professor Tyndall said:

"Some of these flames are of marvelous sensibility; one such is at present burning before you. It is nearly twenty inches long; but the slightest tap on a distant anvil knocks it down to eight. I shake this bunch of keys or these few copper coins in my hand; the flame responds to every tinkle. I may stand at a distance of twenty yards from this flame; the dropping of a sixpence from a height of a couple of inches into a hand already containing coin, knocks the flame down. I cannot walk across the floor without affecting the flame. The creaking of my boots sets it in a violent commotion. The crumpling of a bit of paper, or the rustle of a silk dress, does the same. It is startled by the plashing of a rain-drop. I speak to the flame, repeating a few lines of poetry; the flame jumps at intervals, apparently picking certain sounds from my utterance to which it can respond, while it is unaffected by others."

A Subterranean City Discovered.—A subterranean city has been discovered in the vicinity of Fort No. 1, on the Sir-Darya River. Kirghisian settlers having undertaken to furnish bricks to Major Yuni, the Russian commandant of the fort, brought him such curious specimens of the required article that he was led to inquire whence they had procured them. On their taking him to the place, the existence of a subterranean city of vast extent was soon apparent to the astonished Russians. The place seems to have been originally built on the Lake Avel, but by the receding of the water is now at some distance from its shores, and in the course of time has been covered up by sand and alluvial deposits. Whether it belongs to the ancient Parthian, or, comparatively speaking, modern Dshungarian period of Tartarian history, has not yet been ascertained. A guard has been stationed on the spot to protect the mysterious city from depredations, until the arrival of further orders from the Governor of Oreuburg.

Garibaldi's Tour.—Garibaldi, says a Florence letter of March 13, continues his progress. He was at Milan yesterday, and reached Turin at eleven last night. His latest prank, committed at Verona on the 11th, and exultingly related by the *Avanguardia*, the new organ of the Left, will hardly increase his *prestige*. It appears that, on arriving at the station, a child was presented to him by its parents to be baptized. He accepted the office. "I baptize thee," he said, "in the name of God and of the legislator Jesus; may thou become an apostle of truth. Love thy neighbor; assist the unfortunate; be strong to combat the tyrants of the conscience and of the body; be worthy of the brave Chiassi, whose name I give to thee; adieu!" The crowd frantically applauded. Garibaldi was much affected by the enthusiastic reception he met with at Bologna. Asked whether he would return thither, he said that if he did so he should think he was returning to the bosom of his family.

Nasby in England.—In a review of one of Petroleum V. Nasby's books, the London *Leader* says: "If we are happy to assert that Nasby writes better things now than anything in this volume, the education excepted, we also remark that he does not scruple to draw upon material already used. But this and all other peccadilloes we stand ready to forgive to the man who has helped most efficiently to make treason odious, and to unmask the rottenness of a still unburied party; and who, together with the great body of native caricaturists, whose instincts proved true to liberty and loyalty when the rebel lion tried them, has taught us that American laughter, like the French, is a great and powerful thing, at whose explosions, as before the blasts of Joshua's horns, the battlements of wrong quake and tumble to the ground."

When Marshal Bazaine left the City of Mexico with the French army, his nephew, Lieut. Adolphe Bazaine, was about to be married to a beautiful Mexican signorita. In the hurry of their departure, however, it was not found convenient to celebrate the nuptials. It was, therefore, arranged that the young lady should follow her lover to Orizaba, and that the wedding should take place there. Meanwhile the Liberals closed in upon the retiring French troops and occupied the whole country, stopping the mails and travel. This was a sad state of things, but nothing is impossible to a true lover. Armed with a passport, which stated the object of his retrograde journey, the young Lieutenant started out alone for the City of Mexico, passed through the Liberal army and numerous bands of banditti, which chivalrously opened right and left to let him pass, and bore off his bride safely to France.

The question of Woman's Rights is agitated in England in connection with the Reform movement. The long and successful reign of the Queen ought to be favorable to it, though Victoria has never had a female Prime Minister or Keeper of the Seals. The women have stormed and taken one masculine fortress—the University of Cambridge—and two hundred girls have passed the examination for admission to that venerable seat of learning.

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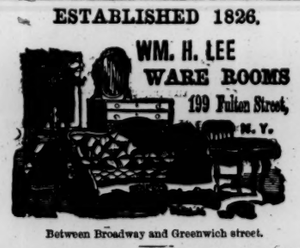

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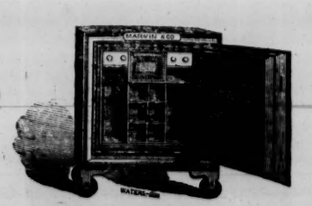

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